

ISSN 0033-0122  
July 1975

# The Quarterly Journal

OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS





Volume 32 / Number 3 / July 1975

# *The* *Quarterly Journal*

OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

*In this issue*

---

- 154 Patrick Magruder  
Citizen, Congressman, Librarian of Congress  
by MARTIN K. GORDON
- 172 Floodgates and Watergate  
Recent Acquisitions of the Manuscript Division  
by the STAFF OF THE DIVISION
- 207 Newspapers and the Library of Congress  
by S. BRANSON MARLEY, JR.
- 238 Praise is due Bartolomeo Platina  
A Note on the Librarian-Author of the First Cookbook  
by LEONARD N. BECK

---

Sarah L. Wallace, *Editor* / Frederick B. Mohr, *Assistant Editor*

---

*Published as a supplement to the Annual Report of the Librarian of Congress*

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 44-40782

ISSN 0041-7939 Key title: Quarterly journal of the Library of Congress

**FRONT AND BACK COVERS:** *Illustrations from the work of the Vatican cook Bartolomeo Scappi seem appropriate accompaniments for our praise of Bartolomeo Platina, the Vatican librarian who published the first cookbook (see page 238). The 27 plates for which Scappi's book is distinguished provide unique glimpses into the kitchens that are the backstage of the Renaissance banquets painted by Veronese. The spacious working areas and superb equipment shown are probably those of the Vatican kitchens of about 1570. Except for the men's clothing Scappi's dairy, shown on the front cover, might be contemporary. The figure of the cook using a whisk, rotating it by holding the stem between his hands which he rubs rapidly back and forth, seems particularly realistic—even dramatic. In the illustration on the back cover, the cook in the lower left-hand corner is making what the Renaissance called blancmanger. Some national variations on the theme of blancmanger are presented in the text. (Bartolomeo Scappi, Opera . . . Con il discorso funerale che fu fatto nelle essequie di papa Paulo III. Con le figure che fanno bisogno nella cucina & alli reuerendissimi nel conclaue, Venetia: M. Tramezzino, 1574?)*

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** *Detail from title page of Andrew W. Tuer's 1,000 Quaint Cuts From Books of Other Days, published in London and New York, 1886.*

---

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents  
U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402  
Price \$1.65 (single copy). Subscription Price: \$6.45 per year; \$1.65 additional for foreign mailing.

## Editor's Note

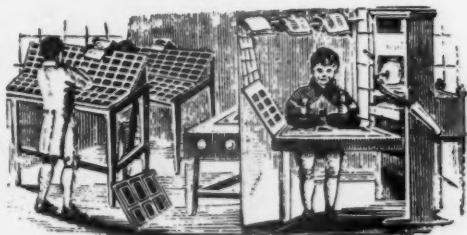
It is always dangerous for one in the publishing field to offer any criticism of grammar, punctuation, or spelling. Too often the printer of the piece will inject, unbeknown to the writer, an error worse than the one against which he has declaimed. Foolhardy though it be, this editor will proceed with a comment on English as it is spelled—and written—by some of the authors encountered in the current crop of manuscripts and books. Candidates for editorial positions as well as many authors find difficulties with the endings “ible” and “able.” They will write that a fact is admissible and defensible and that it is permissible to introduce it into the argument. Food is delectible and a ship is discernable on the horizon. Terrible, edible, and horrible seem to be acceptable to these same individuals, although they might term them acceptable.

One of the occupational drawbacks to being an editor is that one cannot read anything without mentally editing it. Certainly present-day books—at least those in the popular vein—provide a field mined with errors.

More often than not, accommodate loses an “m,” and occurring an “r,” but occasion gains an “s.”

Contemporary writers, scholarly and otherwise, forget the admonitions of successive English teachers and dangle their participles and other modifiers without shame. “Born in New Jersey, Shakespeare early caught his interest and has been the subject of most of his major works.”

“Coming in from the sun-filled garden, the icy draft from the drawing room smote her.” “Returning from the Antarctic, the museum demanded many improvements.”



Recently the editor, absorbed in a book published in the early 1900's, suddenly became aware of the lack of typos, the accuracy of the spelling, the precision of punctuation and grammar. Unconsciously, we had laid aside our mental blue pencil, reading as one should read—for pleasure or knowledge, unhindered by faults or carelessness of author, editor, or printer. One wonders if our forebears read better, spelled better, and cared more about their finished product than do their successors or are today's creators and craftsmen of the printed word finding fulfillment in speed and quantity rather than excellence?

SLW





# Patrick Magruder

## *Citizen, Congressman, Librarian of Congress*

by Martin K. Gordon

ONE of seven sons and four daughters of Revolutionary War Major Samuel Wade Magruder, Patrick Magruder was born in 1768 at "Locust Grove," the family estate in Montgomery County, Md. His father was one of the first justices of the county court when Montgomery County was separated from Frederick County in 1776. Prominent locally, he was also active in real estate speculation and operated a grist mill on his estate.<sup>1</sup>

Patrick attended Princeton College and returned home without graduating to become a lawyer. Apparently he had already suffered from the ill health that was to plague him throughout his life and that would force him to be out of Washington in 1814, when he was most needed there. In 1804 James McHenry, a Baltimorean and former secretary of war, wrote his nephew that he should not leave Princeton just because he worried about his health, holding up Magruder, who had been able to return to that school when his health improved, as an example.<sup>2</sup>

In the 1790's, the young attorney married Salie Turner of Georgetown and had one daughter, Louisa, by this marriage. Becoming active in politics, he served in 1797 as a member of the Maryland House of Delegates from Montgomery County, his place being taken the following year by Robert P. Magruder, a relative of Patrick's.

By June 1799 at the latest, he had become a justice of the peace and was active in the area of the county near Georgetown. In 1802 he became an associate judge of the county circuit court.<sup>3</sup>

Magruder ran for the U.S. House of Representatives in 1801, losing to his Federalist neighbor Thomas Plater by 111 votes out of the 1,817 ballots cast in that election. In the spring of 1803, he endorsed a qualified Federalist who had other bipartisan support for the office of county surveyor. When the Democratic-controlled State Council appointed a lesser known Democrat as county surveyor, Magruder wrote what one paper called a "very insulting letter" to the council and resigned his commission as an associate judge of the circuit court. In the letter he suggested that someone in Annapolis, the state capital, knew Montgomery County well enough to make its recommendations better than its own residents could.<sup>4</sup>

*Patrick Magruder, second Librarian of Congress.*

Martin K. Gordon is a historian with the Reference Section, History and Museums Division, Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps. He is also currently engaged in completing his doctoral dissertation in the joint LC-George Washington University doctoral program.

In August 1803 Magruder officially declared himself a Republican candidate for election to the Eighth Congress (1803-05). Partisan sniping had already begun the month before, however, when the local Republican newspaper accused the Federalists of trying to dictate from their Frederick County strongholds to the electors for the Congressional District made up of Montgomery County and part of Frederick County whom they should elect to the U.S. House of Representatives. Not only did Plater run for reelection but also his fellow Federalist Richard Wootton entered the contest along with Magruder. The Republicans accused the Federalists of trying to settle the problem of which candidate they would select behind the closed doors of a caucus without giving the people a chance to decide the question for themselves.

As the campaign heated up in August, the Federalists declared in mass meetings that their candidates were the better men, and the Republicans accused Plater of being a Tory and subservient to Frederick County interests. The Republicans also prided themselves on choosing their candidate by an open meeting rather than through a secretive caucus. Thus in 1803 three candidates, two Federalists and a Republican, ran for the seat in Congress to represent Montgomery County and part of Frederick County.<sup>5</sup>

Wootton, the second Federalist candidate, was accused of being a false candidate, not a true member of the party. His defenders replied that Magruder had carried Montgomery County in the last election and that only Frederick votes had kept Plater in office. Magruder, therefore, could only be defeated by another Montgomery resident, i.e., Wootton.

Magruder lost this election with 1,075 votes compared to Plater's 1,126 and Wootton's 43 votes in Frederick County alone. The local Republican newspaper published these results in tabular form for comparison with the previous election. The returns indicated, at least to the editor, that the new democratization of the electoral procedure—the dropping of the £30 property requirement for voters and the new written ballot—resulted in continued good prospects for the future of the Republican Party. This table analyzed Plater's declining victory margins to show that if a united Republican Party turned out in large numbers for the next election, it

should carry both counties for its congressional candidate.<sup>6</sup>

A change in the election laws forced an election for the House of Representatives a year later. Trying again in 1804, Magruder once more faced his neighbor Plater. This fall campaign resulted in the usual tactics. When the Republicans heralded Magruder as distinguished, the Federalists asked "in what?" In turn, Republicans again accused the Frederick Federalists of attempting to control Montgomery County for their own ends. Through a combination of Federalist apathy, a disciplined Republican turnout, and a general move toward Republicanism in the state, Patrick Magruder, on his third try, was elected to the House of Representatives.

This election saw the Republicans gain two House seats for control of seven out of the nine allotted the state and also gain six General Assembly members for a majority of 52 to 28 in that body. Interestingly, Magruder owed his victory to his Frederick County constituency, which gave him a majority of 424 votes compared with Plater's 220-vote margin in Montgomery, where Republicans had complained the most about outside domination. Both candidates, after all, were from the same part of Montgomery County near Georgetown, D.C.<sup>7</sup>

Magruder's service in the Ninth Congress was rather ordinary. He did not make any major speeches. This attorney from the District of Columbia suburbs is mentioned principally for his service during both sessions on the committee analyzing the highly controversial proposal for a bridge linking the city of Washington with Alexandria. Although the committee reported out bills in favor of this aid to Washington-Alexandria commerce, Magruder voted with the minority against it, thus supporting Georgetown's claim to regional commercial supremacy as maintained by their control of the one bridge then spanning the Potomac and their open access from the ocean. This bill was later defeated in the Senate.<sup>8</sup>

The new Congressman was not able to hold his seat for the Republicans, however. After a bitter campaign, this was the only Maryland House of Representatives seat lost by the party in 1806. Philip Barton Key, the uncle of Francis Scott Key, had moved to Georgetown that year from Annapolis and purchased a summer estate

in Montgomery County, which he then claimed as his place of residence and challenged Magruder for his place in Congress. In the months before the election, the Republicans accused Key of being in the pay of the British monarchy and thus a Tory. Furthermore, they claimed that his family had attempted to profiteer during the Revolution and that, anyway, he was a resident of the District of Columbia and not Maryland and thus ineligible to run in this election.<sup>9</sup>

The British ambassador, who was accused of secretly aiding Key's election efforts, caught the flavor of the campaign in his diary. Reporting on the orations given when both candidates appeared at the same barbecue, he observed:

Magruder, Key's opponent, talked of his blood being allied nearly to the whole District and insisted that he was therefore naturally the fittest Person to represent and maintain their Interests, but Key retorted that if the Question were about a Steed that argument might be good. It was not, however, in Discussion which of the two, he or this Rival, were of the best Breed, but which would make the best Member of Congress, when the Head was more worthy to be considered than the Blood, and he was accordingly preferred. . . .<sup>10</sup>

That October Magruder once again carried his Frederick County constituents with 964 votes which gave him a nine-vote margin over Key. His home jurisdiction deserted him, however, and gave Philip Barton Key 980 votes for a majority of 248 over Magruder in Montgomery County and an overall victory of 239 votes. In reporting these results, the local Federalist newspaper gloated, "rudeness and insolence will always meet with their proper reward, contempt and defeat."<sup>11</sup>

Magruder's term as a member of the Ninth Congress ended on March 3, 1807. John Beckley, Clerk of the House of Representatives and first Librarian of Congress, died a month later, on April 8, 1807.<sup>12</sup> When the 10th Congress convened on October 26, 1807, it found itself confronted with eight applicants for the vacant Clerkship of the House. The Representatives proceeded to elect a new Clerk as soon as they had organized and chosen a Speaker on the 26th. The tellers declared the first ballot for a new Clerk invalid when they discovered one of the Representatives had voted twice. Nicholas Van Zandt of Georgetown, Beckley's chief clerk in the last Congress, led the next ballot with 37 votes

compared with 26 for Magruder in second place and 16 votes for the third-place candidate, James Elliot. Josias W. King was in fourth place with 10 votes. Interestingly, Van Zandt, Elliot, and King were all on President Jefferson's May 30 list of candidates for the position of Librarian of Congress. A total of 59 votes was needed to win this position. On the third ballot, Van Zandt picked up 15 votes to fall only seven short of victory. Magruder gained two votes, one candidate dropped out, and the others all lost ground.

This routine was about to continue to another tally when John Randolph of Roanoke interrupted the procedure. No longer the power he once was in the House Chamber, he was still listened to when he implicated Van Zandt as one of the assistant clerks who in the previous Congress had not properly maintained the secrecy of a closed session of the House of Representatives. Thus accused of impropriety with confidential matters, Van Zandt, then acting as Clerk of the House, requested permission to speak in his own defense. The Speaker of the House turned down this request on the ground that it would set a new and unusual precedent. The Representatives then defeated motions to investigate the charge. They went directly to another ballot in which Magruder jumped to first place with 52 votes, James Elliot went to second place with 27 votes, and Van Zandt fell back to third with only 16 votes. Another vote was immediately taken, and Magruder finally won the trials with 72 votes. The tellers did not even bother to announce the tallies of the other candidates.<sup>13</sup>

Apparently Magruder was simply the accidental beneficiary of Randolph's real concern over Van Zandt's ability to meet the obligations of the Clerk of the House. The Representatives must have agreed with Randolph, or they would not have so quickly refused Van Zandt's plea for a hearing on the accusation. Later, when Van Zandt applied for a position with the Senate, John Quincy Adams argued that he was unfit for a position with that body.<sup>14</sup>

Also, still on the 26th, the day of Magruder's victory in the House, three Congressmen suggested his name to Jefferson as a likely choice for the position of Librarian of Congress. These Republicans, Willis Alston, Jr., and Thomas Kenan of North Carolina and John Smilie of Pennsylvania, wrote simply in the only known applica-

tion of Magruder for this position, "Mr. Magruder having been appointed Clerk of the H. R. U. S. we recommend him to your notice as a proper person to be appointed librarian."<sup>15</sup>

His selection was not as automatic as it might seem, however. Jefferson, who had statutory responsibility for appointing the Librarian of Congress, was not convinced in his own mind that he wanted to give the post to whoever might be the Clerk of the House of Representatives. This doubt arose because of his friendship for one of Magruder's many competitors for the position. As of May 30 when Jefferson compiled his "Review of Appointments Wanting," there were 13 applicants listed for the vacancy of Librarian in Washington. Magruder's name was submitted on October 26. On December 12, 1808, long after Jefferson filled the vacancy, he received an application for it from J. Philip Reibelt, a French correspondent of his who was trapped in New Orleans by the embargo and needed a job.<sup>16</sup>

On April 9, 1807, the day after Beckley, the Clerk and Librarian, died, James Kearney of Washington applied for the Librarian's job. He stressed his professional education and his training as Beckley's deputy. Josias W. King, who had sought the position in 1802 and who also became a candidate for the Clerkship of the House, applied again for the Librarian's opening on April 10. In his application he reminded the President of the Congressmen who had endorsed his 1802 application and that, even though he had not received the appointment, he had still had care of the Library for some years as Beckley's assistant. The same day, Caesar A. Rodney, Jefferson's attorney general, wrote Jefferson among other matters that "Poor Beckley was buried today. Gov. Clinton requested me to mention to you Mr. Van Zandt as his [Beckley's] successor as librarian. The V. President [Clinton] seems anxious on the subject. . . ." <sup>17</sup> This part of Van Zandt's application took the same indirect form that Magruder's application for the position took six months later. Also, he was to be Magruder's closest opponent for the Clerkship when the House convened that October.

On April 11 William Mayne Duncanson, also of Washington, applied for the position. His application merely hinted that he was in great financial need. Finally, on May 8, after news of Beckley's death spread across the country, a

*Josias Wilson King's application for the position of Librarian of Congress. Photostat in Manuscript Division of original in National Archives, Record Group 59, Applications and Recommendations for Public Office, 1797-1901.*

George Clark of Greencastle, Pa., wrote Albert Gallatin, Jefferson's secretary of the treasury and close associate, that his son-in-law, Dr. Patterson, lived in Washington and could use the job of Librarian of Congress.<sup>18</sup>

The Librarianship paid two dollars per day. James Kearney in his letter suggested that he had independent means and thus could devote the necessary time to the Library without the distractions which would preoccupy any other person applying for it. Patterson and King stressed their need for the income from the position. Duncanson not only needed the money but was also interested in using the collections, which meant to him that "the salary tho trifling, will be doubled to me by having the use of the Library." This was the application which nearly caused the President to break the precedent he had set when he had appointed Beckley, the Clerk of the House, to the additional post of Librarian. Jefferson had nearly appointed Duncanson marshal of the District of Columbia in 1801. He had been a loyal Republican Washingtonian from the days when the city was a Federalist stronghold and in the last few years had lost his independent means of wealth. Unfortunately for him, Jefferson was "a little puzzled . . . between doubt and inclination" over whether or not he should appoint Duncanson, who had been involved in Miranda's filibustering expedition to Venezuela in 1806 and may have had some knowledge of Aaron Burr's conspiracies, for which Burr was then standing trial in Richmond. Jefferson knew that Duncanson had been honest but was worried that his appointment would not be popular in Congress.<sup>19</sup>

Jefferson certainly had other problems on his mind as he commuted between Washington and Monticello. In addition to the Burr trial, that summer saw continuing British impressment of American seamen and, above all, the unprovoked attack of the British warship H.M.S. *Leopard* on the U.S. frigate *Chesapeake*. Apparently Jefferson decided not to risk Duncanson's appointment, and it was not until James Madison appointed George Watterston the third Librarian

City of Washington, April 10<sup>th</sup> 1807.

Sir,

The death of Mr. John Buckley having vacated the office of Librarian to Congress, I beg leave Sir, to renew the application I had the honor to make at the time of the passing of the act establishing the Library. Altho' I was disappointed in that application, yet the arrangement of the Library and duties of the appointment devolved on and were by me performed for a considerable time being then a clerk in the office of the House of Representatives of the United States.

I deem it Sir, unnecessary to forward the recommendations for your perusal which I had the honor to transmit you on my former application, but Sir, you will very much gratify and relieve a family, who at present seek assistance from the government of their native Country.

I have the Honor to be  
With Great respect,

Sir, your Obedt<sup>h</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

President of the United States.

Forney Wilson King.

Sir

Washington Nov. 6. 07.



I have this day directed a commission to be made out for you as Librarian to Congress. Mr Van Zandt having been charged pro tem. with the care of the books since the death of Mr Beckley, you will be pleased to receive that charge from him. I salute you with esteem & respect

Mr. Magruder

T. Jefferson

of Congress in March 1815 that the offices of Clerk and Librarian were separated.

Jefferson did not act until after Congress convened that October and elected its officials. On November 6, less than two weeks after Magruder's application for the position and about six months after the bulk of the other applications were submitted, he tersely wrote Magruder, "I have this day directed a commission to be made out for you as Librarian of Congress. Mr. Van Zandt having been charged pro tem with the care of the books since the death of Mr. Beckley, you will be pleased to receive that charge from him."

The same day, the President also wrote to Van Zandt, "Considering it as the surest course for the performance of my duty in appointing a keeper to the library of Congress, to follow their choice in the selection of their officers, I have conceived the election of Mr. Magruder as successor to Mr. Beckley as designating him also as his successor as Librarian." He then advised Van Zandt on the necessary paperwork for him to receive a salary for the interim period he had spent in charge of the Library.<sup>20</sup>


Beckley had largely delegated the day-to-day operations of the Library to one of his assistants,

Thomas Jefferson's letter of November 6, 1807, to Magruder informing him of his appointment as Librarian. Jefferson Papers, Manuscript Division.

On November 6, 1807, Jefferson also informed Nicholas Van Zandt, who had been acting as Librarian since Beckley's death, that Patrick Magruder was to take over as "keeper to the Library of Congress." Jefferson Papers, Manuscript Division.

as the two of Magruder's competitors who had been assistants pointed out in their letters of application for the job of Librarian. Magruder continued this tradition and was not much involved in the routine of the Library of Congress. This, of course, was based on the normal practice in libraries at the time. Librarians were regarded as custodial employees whose main tasks were to shelve and to circulate books; selection and procurement was left to a committee of the governing board of the institution involved. This same committee, as a rule, also handled the financial affairs of the library.<sup>21</sup> So by delegating some librarian's chores to one of his assistants, Magruder was not neglecting his major responsibilities.

For example, the Joint Committee on the Library of Congress published reports during two

1806-1807  
 Keel met  
 Sir  
 Nov. 6. 07  


Considering it as the surest course for the performance  
 of my duty in appointing a keeper to the Library of Congress, to  
 follow their choice in the selection of their officers, I have concu-  
 red the election of Mr Magruder as successor to Mr Beckley  
 as designating him also as his successor as Librarian.  
 I have therefore directed a commission as such to be made  
 out for him. I do not know whether the rules of the Treasury  
 will require a regular commission pro term. to you for the  
 time you have had it in charge. but that, or any other  
 voucher which their forms require, for entitling you to the  
 salary from Mr Beckley's death to the meeting of Congress  
 shall be furnished on being made known to me. I present  
 you my salutations & respects.

Mr. Van Landt.  
 W. G. Johnson

of the years that Magruder was Librarian, 1808  
 and 1809. These reports were in three parts: a  
 letter of transmittal signed by Senator Samuel L.  
 Mitchill, chairman of the committee; a list of  
 donations received by the Library since the last  
 list was published; and the report of the Treasury  
 Department auditor on the account of Joseph  
 Nourse, the committee's official agent for the  
 purchase of books. James Kearney, who was ap-  
 parently working as Magruder's assistant, not  
 having received the post of Librarian himself,  
 signed the list of gifts received in the 1808 report.  
 The next report did not contain any names of  
 Library personnel at all. The emphasis was on  
 book selection and library finances, neither being  
 the concern of the Librarian.<sup>22</sup>

A major preoccupation of the Joint Committee  
 on the Library seems to have been the actual  
 selection of books for the Library, as the members  
 of the committee habitually drew the funds ap-  
 propriated for that purpose directly from the  
 Treasury. The committee decided on March 31,  
 1806, that the principal part of the purchase fund  
 should be spent by three of its members, during  
 a recess, in collecting books in Boston, New York,  
 and Philadelphia. On February 28, 1807, the  
 committee met without a majority present and  
 still drew its annual appropriation out of the  
 Treasury. They accomplished this by obtaining  
 the signature of an absent member and then  
 presenting the order at the Treasury. Again, the  
 sum was divided three ways for book purchases.

At a meeting on November 20, 1807, they divided up the chores of writing the annual report, preparing a new book catalog of the Library's holdings, and calling on the President to discuss the library facilities. There is no mention of the Librarian of Congress attending any of these meetings.<sup>23</sup>

The most important means of access to the contents of a library before the development of reference services and the card catalog was its published book catalog. The first Library of Congress published book catalog came out in 1802, with a supplement in 1803. The next catalog appeared in 1804, and then there was a hiatus until the 40-page 1808 catalog appeared, tripling the 13-page size of its predecessor. It is questionable to what extent Magruder involved himself in the production of these catalogs. The 101-page 1812 catalog, listing slightly over 3,000 volumes and maps, abandoned the earlier approach of organizing the books by size and instead divided them into 16 subject and two form categories, making the Library of Congress the sixth library in the United States to publish this more helpful, broadly classed type of catalog. It was beginning to be established in the first part of the 19th century that librarians, rather than supervising committees or boards, were responsible for compiling the published catalogs. At a Library Committee meeting of November 20, 1807, it was decided that one of its members, Representative Samuel W. Dana of Connecticut, would superintend "the making and printing of a new list of the books."<sup>24</sup> The rules of the Library of Congress required the Librarian to "preserve due lists and catalogues" of the books under his care, but given the customs of the time and Magruder's sporadic ill health as well as his delegation of operational control of the Library, it is impossible to state what Magruder's role might have been in the production of these catalogs other than his routine obligation as Clerk of the House to oversee their printing for the Joint Committee of Congress.<sup>25</sup>

There were several other changes in the Library during this period of Magruder's tenure. The 1808 catalog promulgated a set of rules and regulations for the governance of the Library of Congress. These rules, revised in the 1812 catalog, spelled out the procedures for the routine operations of the Library. They held the Librarian responsible for circulating, labeling,

*These 1808 rules and regulations specify the duties of the Librarian and the stringent terms under which Congressmen were allowed to borrow books. Manuscript Division.*

shelving, and listing the books as well as keeping a record of all expenses related to the Library which were authorized by law. The Librarian also had to issue to and receive from the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House at the beginning and end of each session complete sets of the laws and journals of the Congress deposited in the Library for that specific purpose. This clause indicates that it was not automatically assumed in these regulations that the Librarian of Congress would always be the Clerk of the House. He also had to recover any books charged out to any Congressman by the end of the session in which they were charged out, as well as to collect any overdue fines. His fine money was to be turned over to the Joint Committee on the Library when they should request it. Congress in these years continued its liberal circulation policies and extended the privilege of checking books out of the Library to the Agent of the Joint Committee, Joseph Nourse, and to the Justices of the United States Supreme Court. Congress also renewed its annual \$1,000 appropriation for the purchase of books.<sup>26</sup>

Although a Washingtonian and a congressional employee, Magruder retained his interest in Montgomery County and Georgetown politics. On December 4, 1807, less than a month after President Jefferson had appointed him Librarian of Congress, he wrote Jefferson from his clerk's office recommending Benjamin G. Orr for appointment to the vacant position of marshal of the District of Columbia. He supported Orr as "My fellow laborer in the cause of republicanism in the County of Montgomery." Attached to this letter was a petition supporting Magruder's recommendation from 12 prominent Georgetown residents, including Patrick's brother, George, two former mayors of that city, and several ex-militia officers. This practice of congressional or other political support for an applicant for a District of Columbia office was quite common. Nevertheless, Washington Boyd, the previous marshal's former deputy, was chosen for this position.<sup>27</sup>

The following October, along with six prominent District residents, Magruder signed a peti-

# RULES

AND

## REGULATIONS

To be observed in the LIBRARY OF CONGRESS,

I. THE Library shall be opened every day during the session of Congress, and for one week preceding and subsequent thereto, Sundays excepted, from nine o'clock in the morning, to three o'clock in the afternoon, and from five o'clock to seven in the evening.

II. IN the recess of Congress, it shall be opened three days in every week, during the hours aforesaid, to wit: on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday,

III. IT shall be the duty of the Librarian to label and number the Books, place them on the shelves, and preserve due lists and catalogues of the same. He shall also keep due account and register of all issues and returns of books as the same shall be made, together with regular accounts of all expenses incident to the said Library, and which are authorized by law.

IV. BOOKS, to be issued by the Librarian pursuant to law, shall be returned as follows:

<i>A Folio, within three</i>	} WEEK,
<i>A Quarto, within two</i>	
<i>An Octavo or Duodecimo, within one</i>	

And no member shall receive more than one folio, one quarto, or two octavo's or duodecimo's, within the terms aforesaid, unless where so connected as to be otherwise useless.

V. FOR all books issued, a receipt or note shall be given, of double the value thereof, as near as can be estimated, conditioned to return the same, undamaged within the term above mentioned, or to forfeit the amount of such note; at the expiration of which, unless application has been made by another person for the same book, and the Librarian requested to take a memorandum thereof, the said Librarian, upon the books being produced to him, may renew the issue of the same for the time and on the conditions aforesaid: *Provided*, That every receipt or note shall contain a further forfeiture or penalty for every day's detention of a book beyond the specified term, that is to say: for

*A Folio—three dollars per day.*

*A Quarto—two dollars per day.*

*An Octavo—one dollar per day.*

Which forfeiture or penalty may, for good cause, be remitted by the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House of Representatives for the time being, in whole or in part, as the case may require.

VI. WHEN a member shall prefer to take a book for the limited time, without removing it from the Library, he shall be allowed to do so without giving a receipt or note for the same, and to preserve his priority for the use of such book for the time limited, in like manner as if he had withdrawn the book from the Library, and given a receipt or note therefor. And the Librarian shall keep due account and entry of all such cases.

VII. BOOKS returned shall be delivered to the Librarian, to be examined whether damaged or not.

VIII. IF a book be returned damaged, the party returning it shall not be entitled to receive another until the damage for the first shall be satisfied.

IX. NO book shall be issued within one week of the termination of any session of Congress.

X. ALL books shall be returned three days before the close of a session, whether the time allowed for the use thereof be expired or not.

tion which asked Jefferson to find an appointment for James H. Blake, of Georgetown, a long-time Republican who had become poor through investing in District of Columbia real estate at the wrong times. The result of this petition is not known, but Dr. Blake did recover sufficiently from his losses to join some of the most socially acceptable Washingtonians in planning President Madison's inaugural ball the following March.<sup>28</sup>

On May 22, 1809, the 11th Congress convened, and Magruder automatically came up for reelection as Clerk of the House. He handily won his position on the first ballot with 63 votes to 38 for his nearest competitor, Daniel C. Brent, a friend of Jefferson's and the man who had vacated the position of marshal of the District in the winter of 1807 to become the chief clerk of the State Department. Nicholas B. Van Zandt, Magruder's principal rival in 1807 at the time of the 10th Congress, came in third with 14 votes, and there were two other minor candidates. On November 4, 1811, at the start of the 12th "War Hawk" Congress, Magruder won reelection without any recorded opposition at all. Patrick Magruder came up for his fourth election bid as Clerk of the House on May 24, 1813. The 13th Congress then reelected him Clerk with 111 votes, and just as had happened two years earlier, stenographers in the House did not even bother to record his opposition.<sup>29</sup>

On May 30, 1811, Patrick married Martha Goodwyn, the eldest daughter of Col. Peterson Goodwyn, a Democrat who had been in the House of Representatives when Magruder was a member and who continued to serve in that body until his death on February 21, 1818. The marriage ceremony was conducted at his father-in-law's plantation "Sweden," near Petersburg, Va., and it was there that Patrick Magruder and his wife settled after he resigned his congressional posts in 1815. They had two children, Adelina Virginia and Napoleon Bonaparte. Both before and after his marriage, Magruder was occasionally seen at presidential parties, and after their marriage, Martha accompanied him to these functions.<sup>30</sup>

The Clerk/Librarian was active in local Masonic affairs. He belonged to the old Federal Lodge No. 15 of the Maryland Grand Lodge and was a delegate to the meeting of the Georgetown and

Washington Lodges which established the independent Grand Lodge of the District of Columbia. When Lodge No. 15 was reconstituted as Federal Lodge No. 1 of the District of Columbia in February 1811, Magruder served as its first junior warden. In addition, the Magruders had an informal but active social life because of their proximity to the Library of Congress, which also served as a Capitol Hill social facility.<sup>31</sup>

In December 1813 Magruder's ill health returned, and on the ninth, three days after the opening of the second session of the 13th Congress, the House of Representatives voted approval of George Magruder, his brother and his chief clerk in the Office of the Clerk, as acting Clerk of the House.<sup>32</sup>

On August 24, 1814, Patrick Magruder was on sick leave at the Springs of Virginia, having left Washington toward the end of July. On the evening of that August date, the British army captured the city of Washington and burned the United States Capitol and with it the Library of Congress. President James Madison immediately called Congress into session, convening it on September 19, 1814. Magruder, back in Washington by then, wrote the Speaker of the House the next day. He reported the destruction of not only the Library but also the vouchers which proved that he had properly spent the government funds entrusted to his office. He asked for a congressional investigation into both the conduct of his office before the fire and his accounts and the handling of the funds for which he was responsible. The Speaker promptly appointed a select committee, chaired by Joseph Pearson of North Carolina, to investigate the circumstances discussed in Magruder's letter.<sup>33</sup>

Magruder had appended to his letter a statement which he had received on September 15 from J. T. Frost, who had charge of the Library of Congress for Magruder, and one of his clerks, Samuel Burch. This letter set forth the basic facts about the destruction of the office records and the books of the Library.

Washington had appeared peaceful and safe when Magruder left the city, they claimed. But on August 19, the entire militia had been called up for service, and all the clerks, except the overage Frost, responded. Two days later, in the field, Col. George Magruder, Patrick's chief clerk, arranged to have Burch furloughed to return to the



Capitol to assist Frost if it became necessary to evacuate the records. George Magruder ordered them not to begin packing their records until the clerks at the War Department began to evacuate their files. On noon of the 22d, Burch and Frost discovered that the War Department staff had already been evacuating their files for a day. Frost immediately began packing the records, while Burch went in search of transportation. Having started after the army and the government agencies had cornered most of the available wagons in the city and when private citizens were fleeing in those that were left, all Burch could acquire was the use of a cart and four oxen from a man who lived six miles from the city. They set to work and were able to evacuate most of their valuable items nine miles into the country. Finally, on the

*An artist's conception of the British using Library books to kindle the fire in the Capitol, published more than 50 years after the event. From Harper's New Monthly Magazine 46 (December 1872): 44.*

morning of the Battle of Bladensburg, they were forced to stop work. After the battle, Frost was able to move some of the remaining records into a nearby house just to get them out of the Capitol. Unfortunately, the British also set fire to this house.

Especially unfortunate for Patrick Magruder was their neglect of his fiscal records, although they saved almost all the other papers. As they reported,

We regret very much the loss of your private accounts and vouchers, amongst which . . . were the receipts and accounts of the expenditure of the con-



tingent moneys of the House of Representatives; they were in the private drawer of Mr. George Magruder, which being locked, and the key not in our possession, we delayed to break it open until the last extremity, after which it escaped our recollection.

This loss included all of Congress' financial records relating to the Library of Congress. The loss of the Library of Congress financial records was not a concern of Magruder's, however, because the Joint Committee which controlled the purchase fund had always dealt directly with an agent at the Treasury Department, and they simply asked him to reconstruct these records as best he could from the preserved Treasury files.<sup>34</sup>

Through the fall and winter, as this select committee deliberated, the executive departments reported their losses to Congress, as requested, noting that all of their useful current records had been preserved in every case. Apparently of all the government agencies, Magruder's office was

the most impaired by the British destruction. The committee reported on December 12, 1814. It had divided its investigation into three subjects.

The first was the availability of transportation for the removal of the records of the House for safekeeping. It secured reports from the Treasury, War, and Navy Departments on how they had managed to save their records. It then concluded on this point that the clerks of the House had not even begun to make any effort to save their records until the afternoon of August 22, about the time that the other agencies were completing their evacuations started two and one-half days earlier.

The committee did not go into the nature of Magruder's indisposition which required him to leave Washington at that serious time, but for its second conclusion it observed, "due precaution and diligence were not exercised to prevent

*"A View of the Capitol of the United States after the Conflagration of 24th August 1814," by W. Strickland after G. Munger. Construction of the Capitol was not complete—the two wings had not been permanently joined—when the fire destroyed much of the interior. Prints and Photographs Division.*

the destruction and loss which has been sustained."

The Congressmen devoted most of their attention to Magruder's financial records, inasmuch as these were the only important files not saved from the British. They accepted the reports of the destruction of the records as true but were greatly annoyed at Magruder's resistance to their reconstruction of his accounts. He disclaimed any knowledge of the financial affairs of his office and referred the committee to George Magruder, his chief clerk, who in turn refused to identify his specific accounts and the expenditures made in each one. George Magruder admitted receiving \$50,863.16 from the Treasury and claimed, in a three-line statement, routine expenditures of \$45,000 and congressional newspaper subscriptions of roughly \$3,000, leaving an unaccounted sum of \$2,863.16.

Patrick and George Magruder had other financial problems at this time. Patrick was sued by Buller Cocke, a local politician and innkeeper, for \$593.44 that November. George had borrowed that sum from Patrick and given him a promissory note for it. Patrick in turn had endorsed the note over to Cocke, who, in due course, presented it for payment at the appropriate time. George Magruder refused payment, and following the procedure of the era, Cocke sued Patrick Magruder and in the winter of 1816 won a \$1,000 judgment against him.<sup>35</sup>

Against this background, the committee felt that George Magruder's report was "great and unprecedented" in terms of its expenditures and unsatisfactory in terms of specific details. The committeemen then examined the books of the Magruders' checking accounts and the records of their principal suppliers, interviewed other House staff members, and compared these figures with the amount Patrick Magruder had satisfactorily accounted for when he had last settled his accounts at the Treasury in January 1814. This tabulation revealed, among other things, that Mr. Frost had been paid \$20 at periodic intervals for his work in the Library of Congress,

which was considered additional to his duties as a clerk in the House. Also, Roger Weightman, who held most of the House's printing contracts in this period, noted on a duplicate receipt that he gave the committee that once when he had needed money to pay a subcontractor, Patrick had paid him out of George's checking account at the Bank of Washington.

In its analysis, the committee confirmed the sum of \$50,863.16 as the amount to be accounted for. It then computed \$30,988.57½ as the total which Patrick Magruder might properly have spent in the period for which the vouchers were destroyed and asked that the House of Representatives, by resolution, credit him for that amount. He still had to account for the remaining \$19,874.58½. The House ordered this report printed but took no other action at that time.<sup>36</sup>

Patrick Magruder lost no time replying to this report. Five days after its release, on December 17, 1814, he answered its charges. He first defended his absence both in terms of his health, because his physicians advised him to leave Washington for the Springs, and in terms of the calmness of the city. No one at that time had expected a British assault on the Capital. Magruder next answered the charge of lack of planning. He furnished documentation that all of his staff, with the exception of old Mr. Frost, had been called up for active service, with his chief assistant George Magruder actually serving as a regimental commander. Thus, they could not have moved his files to safety until one of them, Burch, was released for that purpose. The executive department heads, he continued, could start evacuating earlier because they were better informed than his office clerks. Furthermore, most of their clerks were over 45 years old and thus had remained in their offices and could spend their time packing rather than in military service. The embattled Clerk devoted most of his attention to his financial arrangements. He defended his ignorance of the handling of money in his office as being standard procedure in all the departments wherein the principal clerk handled the records although the head of the office signed for the authenticity of the expenditures. Furthermore, he claimed that the House Committee on Accounts had approved all of his expenses. He reiterated that if only the vouchers had not been destroyed, he could prove all of his expenditures. Neither he nor George

Magruder could remember all their payments, but they hoped that an advertisement in the local paper asking their contractors to submit duplicate receipts might clear up this matter to Congress' satisfaction.

The House took Magruder's reply under consideration, and Congressman Pearson's select committee formally answered it on January 16, 1815. The committee clarified its criticisms of Magruder. It emphasized that in regard to the absence of the clerks, the problem was in the failure to provide the means of transportation for removing the records. This was a task which Mr. Frost either could have done himself or could have hired someone from outside the staff to do. By referring to the report of the select committee inquiring into the causes of the invasion of the city, the members emphatically disagreed with the Magruder's contention that the city was in no danger that summer.

Again devoting the bulk of the report to Magruder's fiscal records, the committee commented that Magruder's letter did not provide any new information but consisted of "inferences derived, in most respects, from incorrect premises, and from information given by his chief clerk, and not from any information of his own." It seemed that the Committee of Accounts had approved Magruder's drawing advances from the Treasury so that he could make advances on his contracts and in general meet his bills in advance of settlement and audit when necessary. Thus they hadn't always approved his expenses as he had claimed. Furthermore, there were errors in what specifications Magruder did present to the committee, e.g., at least one messenger was paid for one month longer than the session for which he had been hired. More importantly, several thousands of dollars worth of bills which the Magruder's claimed had been paid with the missing vouchers had been paid the previous year when George Magruder had last had his account audited and settled at the Treasury Department. The committee went on to note that Magruder had paid many of his 1813 bills at the last minute so that at the time of his January 1814 audit and settlement, he could properly report the expenditure of his funds. Even then, he was still holding \$6,000 for which he could not provide the proper receipts. The Magruder's had even been unable to tell the committee which bank this

balance was in. This was information the committee had had to determine by investigation. Furthermore, George Magruder was unable to describe any one bill he had paid between January 15, 1814, when with the \$6,000 balance still outstanding he drew another \$10,000, and March 12, when he drew another \$9,288.29 allegedly for the payment of outstanding accounts. This was a total of almost \$26,000 he had held in a period when he could not prove or even describe any payments made against this fund. In fact, the committee believed that more than \$4,000 of this sum had been "applied to private uses." At the end of this analysis the committee again recommended that Magruder be credited for \$30,668.78 at the Treasury Department, a sum slightly less than they had previously recommended, and that this report be filed in the auditor's office at the Treasury.<sup>37</sup>

On January 19, three days after this report was filed, the House of Representatives accepted it, after a long but unrecorded debate, and agreed not only to credit Magruder with the \$30,668.78 of the funds he had drawn from the Treasury but also to allow him credit for any of the balance of \$20,194.78 still outstanding which at any time he could prove that he had properly paid out. Two days later, on Saturday, January 21, 1815, Representative James Clark of Kentucky introduced a resolution which simply stated that Patrick Magruder should be removed from office and a new Clerk elected on Monday. The House tabled this resolution until Monday. Several Congressmen spoke on both sides of this resolution to remove Magruder from his Clerkship. Unfortunately this debate was not recorded, only summarized. Magruder's opponents charged him with neglect in confiding his contingent fund to his deputies and being ignorant of their actions. His defenders simply based their arguments on his "unimpeachable character and general good conduct." Congressman Goodwyn of Virginia, his father-in-law who had once been accused and later acquitted of similar misconduct when sheriff of Dinwiddie County, was not recorded as speaking out on either side of the issue. He was at that time boarding with his son-in-law. The House voted 71 to 71 on postponement of this resolution for a week, and the Speaker of the House, Langdon Cheves of South Carolina, cast the deciding vote in favor of delay.<sup>38</sup>

This resolution was not debated again, however, because on January 28, 1815, Patrick Magruder resigned the office of Clerk of the House and by inference also the office of Librarian of Congress. He stated that he could defend himself against the report and that there were errors in its financial statements, but he did not feel that at his age he should have to explain his conduct. He had been tried without opportunity to defend himself and did not expect to benefit by an appeal to "those who have already pronounced judgment against him." Magruder had been in public life from the age of 18 and had not expected this end to what he felt had been an honorable career.<sup>39</sup>

The House read and tabled Magruder's resignation the same day he presented it. On January 30, without further official action on Magruder's resignation, they elected Thomas Dougherty Clerk of the House of Representatives and then began considering legislation to require the Clerk to give bond for the performance of his duties.<sup>40</sup> In March President Madison separated the offices when he appointed as the third Librarian of Congress George Watterston, whose wife Maria Shanley was a cousin of Patrick Magruder's.

Thus, it was not the destruction of the Library of Congress and Congress' resultant indignation

that caused Magruder, the second Librarian of Congress, to lose his position, as at least one historian has maintained.<sup>41</sup> Rather, it was the question of impropriety in the use of his contingent fund which forced his indignant resignation. Magruder, perhaps realizing something was wrong when he returned to Washington, had raised this question himself when it was discovered that his records had been accidentally left behind for the British to destroy. Congress, already in a questioning mood after the American defeat at Bladensburg, had simply, perhaps to Magruder's surprise, followed through on his request for an investigation.

On December 29, 1815, several months after Patrick Magruder left Washington to settle on his wife's family plantation "Sweden," the auditor of the Treasury closed his books on Magruder's account with the entry that Magruder owed the United States \$18,167.09 in funds that he had withdrawn from the Treasury but had not accounted for. In February 1816, the federal government filed suit against Magruder for this sum. There is no record of this case ever coming to trial, however.<sup>42</sup> Martha G. Magruder died on March 31, 1816. Less than four years later, on December 24, 1819, Patrick Magruder died and was buried at "Sweden" with his second wife.<sup>43</sup>

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Biographical information is contained in two of the famous *Sunday Star* (Washington, D.C.) columns of the Rambler: "Locust Grove, Old Home of the Magruders," June 3, 1917, and "The Rambler writes of Famous Men," March 12, 1922. Fragments of these articles and related clippings are also in the Magruder and Related Families Scrapbook, MS 961, Maryland Historical Society. Further information on both Patrick Magruder and his father-in-law Col. Peterson Goodwyn can be found in the *Biographical Directory of the American Congress* (Washington: U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1949). "Locust Grove" is still standing and is now being preserved as a historic site. *Washington Post*, February 3, 1973.

<sup>2</sup> James McHenry to Daniel W. McHenry, June 10, 1804, James McHenry Papers, MS 647, Maryland Historical Society.

<sup>3</sup> John Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts, 1882), 1:664,

666. Indenture of June 2, 1799, in the Magruder Papers, MS 546, Maryland Historical Society.

<sup>4</sup> Certificates of Election for Frederick and Montgomery Counties for April 6, 1801, Maryland Hall of Records; *Frederick-Town Herald*, May 21, 1803.

<sup>5</sup> *Fredericktown Republican Advocate*, July 1, August 5, 19, 1803.

<sup>6</sup> *The Hornet*, September 20, October 11, 1803; *Fredericktown Republican Advocate*, October 7, 1803.

<sup>7</sup> Maryland, *Laws of 1802*, Ch. 66; *Frederick-Town Herald*, September 22, 1804; *Fredericktown Republican Advocate*, October 5, 26, 1804.

<sup>8</sup> *Annals of Congress*, 15:263; 16:47, 114-15, and 167.

<sup>9</sup> L. Marx Renzulli, *Maryland: The Federalist Years* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1973), p. 234; Edward S. Delaplaine, *Francis Scott Key, Life and Times* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Biography Press, 1937), pp. 48-50; *Biographical Directory of the Amer-*

ican Congress (1949 ed.), p. 1409 for P. B. Key. Key was absolved of these charges during a congressional investigation into them after his election. The charge of being in the pay of the British throne was true because for a short time he had received a pension for his Revolutionary War services as a British officer. The investigation was concluded on March 18, 1808 (*Annals of Congress*, 18: 1848-49).

<sup>10</sup> "Sir Augustus J. Foster in Maryland," ed. Margaret K. Latimer, *Maryland Historical Magazine* 47 (1952): 286. A copy of the manuscript upon which this excerpt is based is in the Library of Congress.

<sup>11</sup> Certificates of Election for Frederick and Montgomery Counties for October 6, 1806, Maryland Hall of Records; *Frederick-Town Herald*, October 11, 1806.

<sup>12</sup> *National Intelligencer*, April 10, 1807.

<sup>13</sup> *Annals of Congress*, 17: 783-87; photostats of Josias Wilson King papers are in the Manuscript Division (MMC), LC; "Review of Appointments Wanting," May 30, 1807, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Manuscript Division, LC.

<sup>14</sup> William C. Bruce, *John Randolph of Roanoke*, 2 vols. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1922), 1: 308-09; John Quincy Adams, *Memoirs*, 12 vols. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1874), 1: 487-88.

<sup>15</sup> Willis Alston, Jr., et al., to Thomas Jefferson, October 26, 1807, Letters of Application and Recommendation during the Administration of Thomas Jefferson, 1801-1809, Record Group 59, National Archives Microfilm Publication M 418, roll 8, frames 190-91. Hereafter cited as RG59M418.

<sup>16</sup> The President's authority is in 2 Stat. 128. The list is in the Jefferson Papers, LC. J. Philip Reibelt to Thomas Jefferson, December 12, 1808, Jefferson Papers, LC.

<sup>17</sup> James Kearney to Thomas Jefferson, April 9, 1807, RG59M418, roll 6, frame 275; Josias W. King to Thomas Jefferson, April 10, 1807, RG59M418. Caesar A. Rodney to Thomas Jefferson, April 10, 1807, Jefferson Papers, LC.

<sup>18</sup> William M. Duncanson to Thomas Jefferson, April 11, 1807, roll 3, frame 417; George Clark to Albert Gallatin, May 8, 1807, roll 9, frames 311-12, both from RG59M418.

<sup>19</sup> 2 Stat. 128. The Kearney, King, Clark, and Duncanson letters are cited in footnotes 17 and 18. Thomas Jefferson to Henry Dearborn, April 21, 1807, Jefferson Papers, LC; also William M. Duncanson to Thomas Jefferson, December 5, 1807, RG59M418, roll 3, frame 418.

<sup>20</sup> Thomas Jefferson to Patrick Magruder and to Nicholas B. Van Zandt, November 6, 1807, Jefferson Papers, LC.

<sup>21</sup> Jim Ranz, *The Printed Book Catalogue in American Libraries, 1723-1900* (Chicago: American Library

Association, 1964), p. 16, makes this point about the purely clerical function of the librarian in this period as a generality, and Stuart C. Sherman, "The Library Company of Baltimore, 1795-1854," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 39 (1944): 6-24 makes this same point in his study of a particular library organization close to Washington. William D. Johnston, *History of the Library of Congress, 1800-1864* (Washington: Govt. Print. Off. 1904), p. 44-45, confirms the existence of this practice at LC itself in this period.

<sup>22</sup> U.S. Congress, Joint Committee on the Library, *Annual Report of the Library Committee of the Two Houses of Congress*. April 11, 1808, and January 27, 1809. Copies of these are in the Rare Book Division, LC, under Z733U575 and the date. The relationship of Congress to LC in this period is fully developed in Johnston, p. 44-48, and David C. Mearns, *The Story Up to Now* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1947), p. 13-16.

<sup>23</sup> Adams, 1: 424, 463-65, 478.

<sup>24</sup> Ranz, p. 12-13, 16, 21-22, 25, 104n30; U.S. Library of Congress, *Annual Report of the Librarian of Congress . . . 1901* (Washington, 1901), p. 362; Adams, p. 478.

<sup>25</sup> U.S. Library of Congress, *Catalogue of Books, Maps . . . for the two Houses of Congress* (Washington, 1812), p. 13. Magruder's ill health has been discussed earlier and will be discussed again later in this essay. A set of these early catalogs is in the Rare Book Division, LC.

<sup>26</sup> U.S. Library of Congress, *Catalogue of Books, Maps . . . Congress* (Washington, 1808 and 1812). These rules are reprinted in full in Johnston, p. 58-61. Congressional legislation is contained in the 1812 edition, p. 6-8.

<sup>27</sup> Patrick Magruder to Thomas Jefferson, December 4, 1807, RG59M418, roll 9, frames 195-97. For Boyd's selection see Wilhelmus B. Bryan, *A History of the National Capital*, 2 vols. (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1914), 1: 572n2.

<sup>28</sup> Patrick Magruder et al. to Thomas Jefferson, October 15, 1808, Jefferson Papers, LC. *National Intelligencer*, March 1, 1809.

<sup>29</sup> *Annals of Congress*, 20: 56; 23: 331; 26: 107.

<sup>30</sup> *National Intelligencer*, June 1, 1811. American Clan Gregor Society, *Year Book, 1920-1925* (1931), p. 26.

<sup>31</sup> Kenton N. Harper, *History of the Grand Lodge and of Freemasonry in the District of Columbia* (Washington: R. Beresford, printer, 1911), p. 34-38; Johnston, p. 49.

<sup>32</sup> *Annals of Congress*, 26: 787.

<sup>33</sup> *American State Papers: Miscellaneous Series*, 2: 245. Hereafter cited as *ASP:MS*; *Annals of Congress*, 28:305.

<sup>34</sup> *ASP:MS*, 2: 245-46; Robert H. Goldsborough, Joint Committee on the Library, to Joseph Nourse, Treasury Dept., October 3, 1814, LC Archives, "Miscellany."

<sup>35</sup> *ASP:MS*, 2: 248-57; Records of the District Courts of the U.S., National Archives Record Group 21, Circuit Court, D.C., Case File 226 and 92.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*; Account No. 31,215, Miscellaneous Treasury Accounts of the First Auditor of the Treasury Department. Record Group 217, National Archives Microfilm Publication M235, roll 134, frame 1069, hereafter cited as RG217M235. *Annals of Congress*, 28:872.

<sup>37</sup> *ASP:MS*, 2: 258-66; Account No. 31,215, RG217M235, roll 134, frame 937.

<sup>38</sup> *Annals of Congress*, 28: 1084-1085, 1100-1101; Writers' Program of Virginia, *Dinwiddie County* (Richmond: Whittet & Shepperson, printers, 1942), p. 91.

<sup>39</sup> *ASP:MS*, 2: 267-68.

<sup>40</sup> *Annals of Congress*, 28: 1107, 1113-14, 1116.

<sup>41</sup> Johnston, p. 68.

<sup>42</sup> "Statement of the Account of Patrick Magruder," RG217M235, roll 134, frame 941 and frame 936 for the suit. The Records of the District Courts of the U.S., National Archives Record Group 21, Circuit Court, D.C., do not contain a case file for this case.

<sup>43</sup> American Clan Gregor Society, p. 26.

# Floodgates and Watergate

## Recent Acquisitions of

by the Staff of the Division

This report covers acquisitions in 1974, a year in which Watergate became an intrusive and unavoidable fact of life for the Manuscript Division as well as for American society as a whole.

The impact of Watergate took many forms. In April 1974 the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation filed a detailed staff report on analysis of Richard M. Nixon's tax returns for 1969 through 1972. This report renewed press comment on the provisions and the effect of the Tax Reform Act of 1969. Although the annual acquisition reports by the Manuscript Division have carefully defined the actual effects of that law, press commentary in 1974 almost invariably oversimplified and distorted its effects. After one particularly faulty article in the *New York Times* (May 13, 1974), which incorrectly attributed to the Library of Congress the judgment that it had received no "significant" manuscript collections since passage of the law, the division was impelled to dispatch reassuring letters to its major donors. An era in which the Library acquired the papers of Hugo L. Black, Frederick Douglass, the John W. Draper family, Lillian Gish, Henry R. Luce, and Agnes E. Meyer, the

records of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and substantial additions to the Reid family and Roosevelt-Willard family papers, to name a few, can hardly be described as bereft. The descriptions that follow indicate continuing acquisitions of national importance, but with a notable absence of gifts of literary material. In the view of the Library of Congress, provisions of the 1969 Tax Reform which have inhibited gifts of literary manuscripts by their creators need to be changed. The phenomena of Watergate may have delayed the impulse for such change.

In the summer of 1974 national attention turned to the ownership of presidential papers, a question brought into sharp focus by the possible disposition of the Nixon tapes and documents. Some professional societies sought simple declaratory affirmations of public ownership of all papers of public officials. As custodian of the largest number of collections of presidential papers (23), the Manuscript Division takes a special interest in possible changes in law affecting traditional understanding of personal and official papers. The division participated in the Library's testimony on October 4 before a sub-

# he Manuscript Division

committee of the Committee on House Administration, House of Representatives. The Library supported the bill under consideration then (H.R. 16902), to establish a commission to study rules and procedures for the disposition and preservation of records and documents of federal officials. Such a bill became law (PL93-526). The findings of the commission, of which the Librarian of Congress is a statutory member, will undoubtedly influence future acquisitions of manuscripts and personal papers of public officials.

The U.S. Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities, popularly known as "the Ervin Committee," concluded its activities on September 30, 1974. Two months earlier, by Senate Resolution 369, the Senate designated the Library of Congress as custodian of the records of the committee. The Senate action had been unforeseen by the Library, but the Manuscript Division formulated plans at once to receive almost half a million items of reports, correspondence, computer printouts, and other records of the committee.

One popular image of manuscript research is

that it is somewhat aimless puttering among documents venerable with age and layered in dust. That image is false, needless to say, at least at the Library of Congress. Nevertheless, the impingement of turbulent contemporary events upon the Manuscript Division in 1974 was almost enough to make the old image seem attractive. As the report which follows will indicate, however, 1974 was a year of accomplishment in traditional as well as untraditional ways. In that respect, at least, we will welcome another year just like it in 1975.

## *Political, Military, Diplomatic, and Social History*

### **Joshua Barney Papers**

Mrs. Charles W. Engelhard, Far Hills, N.J., is the donor of an extremely interesting 20-page

---

Contributors to this report include John C. Broderick, Paul T. Heffron, John McDonough, Oliver H. Orr, Sylvia Lyons Render, Paul Sifton, Kate Stewart, and Ronald S. Wilkinson.

autobiographical account of Joshua Barney (1759–1818), a naval hero of the American Revolution. The account, in the holograph of Commodore Barney, is a fragment, ending abruptly in early 1778, which may have been available in a more extended version to Mary Barney when she prepared for publication her *Biographical Memoir of the Late Commodore Joshua Barney from Autobiographical Notes and Journals in Possession of His Family, and Other Authentic Sources* (Boston, 1832). Whatever the provenance of the item, in economical and unexceptional prose it tells of the first 19 years of a most exceptional life.

Young Barney, one of 14 children, spent his childhood in well-to-do circumstances near Baltimore, but after working for a few years in retail stores, he turned to the sea. His first Atlantic crossing, as a bound apprentice, was made at age 13. On a later voyage, when Barney was 16, the captain fell sick and died at sea, leaving Barney to continue the voyage in an old and badly leaking ship. Arriving in the Mediterranean, his ship was seized and held by Sardinian officials. Undaunted, Barney crossed the Alps into Italy, sought the aid of the English ambassador there, and succeeded in having his ship and cargo restored. On the return voyage to Baltimore, in the summer of 1775, he put in at Alicante, Spain, and took part in a massive but unsuccessful Spanish expedition against Algiers. According to Barney there were about 30,000 troops aboard the fleet of "upwards of 300 sail," but they were landed in great disorder and failed to receive covering support from their men-of-war. When the Spaniards moved inland they were met by the Moors, on horseback, who "put them to flight." Boats from the transports brought off as many as they could, but the slaughter was great, and "the killed & wounded were piled up in heaps & burnt before our eyes."

With these adventures behind him, Barney entered the Chesapeake Bay on October 1, 1775, only to be boarded by a boat from the British sloop-of-war *King-fisher* bearing news of the Battle of Bunker Hill. Allowed to proceed to Baltimore and anxious to become involved, Barney offered his services as a master's mate aboard the *Hornet*, a sloop of 10 guns that was to be part of a small squadron of vessels under the com-

mand of Esek Hopkins. When Hopkins sent an American flag for use on the *Hornet*, Barney put it on a staff and "with drums & fifes beat up for Volunteers," thereby engaging an entire crew in one day. Barney remarked proudly that "this was the first flag of the US & the first time that it was seen in the State of Maryland & which I had the honour of carrying—." By the end of November 1775 Hopkins' squadron was ready for sea and sailed for the Bahamas, where the town and fort of New Providence, with the ships and vessels in the harbor, surrendered without resistance.

After transferring to the Schooner *Wasp* in the spring of 1776, Barney saw considerable action in the Chesapeake and environs and came to the attention of Robert Morris, who commissioned him as a lieutenant in the Navy in June 1776. Service in the *Sachem* and other vessels over the next six months is compressed in Barney's autobiographical account into a few lines, leading to a description of Christmas night, 1776, when, as prize master of a captured snow, he became caught in the breakers of Chincoteague Shoales, "with a gale at East."

I was obliged to anchor in that dreadful situation, every sea broke over our Vessel, my crew & self were obliged to get into the tops to prevent being washed overboard, where we remained several hours waiting for day light, at length the long wished day appeared when we discovered the land right astern of us, at a short distance, the breakers mountains high, we expected every moment that our cable would break, and nothing but death stared us in the face; about ten oclock we saw a sloop near us bound in, and in a few minutes she struck the ground, went to pieces, & we saw no more of her or her crew, in the afternoon the wind changed & became moderate, we then got under way, and the next day got in the harbour of Chincoteague, here I remained several days. . . .

Not long after that episode, Barney and his prize, while entering the Chesapeake, were captured by the *Perseus*, commanded by George Keith Elphinstone. Taken to Charleston, S.C., he was exchanged for some English prisoners and proceeded on horseback to Philadelphia. After arriving there, Barney went aboard the *Andrea Doria* in time to take part in the prolonged but unsuccessful effort to break up the campaign directed by Gen. William Howe against Philadelphia in the summer of 1777. Eventually the

American naval force was forced to burn their larger vessels to prevent capture. Barney's fragmentary autobiographical account concludes shortly thereafter, as he makes his way overland to Baltimore in the winter of 1777-78, marching "round Phila. by the Valley-ford where the American army was in Winter Quarters under General Washington. . . ."

Barney's career subsequent to the period covered by his manuscript autobiography included two more captures by the British, imprisonment in England, and an escape to France. Commands of several armed merchants and men-of-war culminated in the engagement between Barney's *Hyder-Ally* and the *General Monk*, April 8, 1782, said to be one of the most brilliant naval actions accomplished under the American flag. (At the time of its occurrence Barney was 22 years old.) Barney also saw service under the French flag, 1796-1802. In the War of 1812 he took part in numerous successful privateering expeditions. He was in Washington when the capital was threatened by the British force on the Patuxent River in 1814 and marched with a small force to meet the enemy at Bladensburg. There, at the center of the American position, he was wounded and fell once again into British hands. He died in 1818.

### James McHenry Papers

A notable addition has been made to the division's collection of the papers of James McHenry (1753-1816). McHenry, a native of Ireland, came to Philadelphia in 1771, where he studied medicine under Benjamin Rush. Finding himself early and easily in harmony with the patriotic fervor of the times, he went to Massachusetts in 1775 to enter military service. Thereafter his career came to include one distinction after another: secretary to George Washington and aide to Lafayette, member of the Continental Congress, delegate from Maryland to the Constitutional Convention, and secretary of war under Presidents Washington and John Adams. In the latter's administration, however, McHenry's troubles began. His resignation from the cabinet was demanded and received in May 1800, since Adams had lost confidence in his holdover secretary of war, largely on political grounds. This

was followed two years later, in Jefferson's first administration, by the communication of an investigative committee report on the "Application of Public Money" to the House of Representatives. Prepared by Joseph H. Nicholson and a Republican majority, the report raised, among other things, several grave charges against the conduct of the War Department during McHenry's incumbency. It is with these charges that the manuscript acquired by the Library is concerned.

The manuscript itself, which amounts to approximately 90 pages, consists of the draft of a letter, dated December 20, 1802, written by McHenry to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Nathaniel Macon of North Carolina, with accompanying documents. The letter and documents, which were read in the House on December 28, 1802, set forth in considerable detail McHenry's defense and justification of his actions as secretary of war and contain statements and observations "relative to certain charges expressed, or implied, in the Report of the Committee of investigation. . . ." No action was taken by the House on McHenry's letter or on the investigative report of the committee. In 1803, McHenry had his letter privately printed in pamphlet form by John W. Butler of Baltimore. Oliver Wolcott, who had also served in the cabinets of Washington and Adams, in a letter of May 30, 1803, to McHenry, remarked that the perusal of the printed address had given him "much pleasure," and provided this further friendly evaluation of it:

I thought I understood the Report of the Committee of Investigation well, before, but I now understand it much better.—you have placed several matters in a new and striking point of view, & have brought to light several documents, which escaped former researches:—the *investigators*, have been well *investigated*: the attempt to disgrace honest men, has covered the authors, with confusion:—poor rogues—they have only displayed an impotent malice.

The greater part of the draft letter of December 20, 1802, is not in McHenry's hand, although there are a number of holograph paste-overs and many inserts, emendations, and corrective marginalia, all of which are in his hand. The documents accompanying the letter reveal that they received similar careful attention from McHenry. Close comparison of the manuscript with the

be expected the damages should be ascertained by judicious and indifferent persons. I therefore requested her to let the question of damages take this course."

This proposition being acceded to, I requested Mr Francis Dea Kind by letter, to appear as one of the Arbitrators on my part and to mention to Mrs French his acceptance, that she might appoint a proper person upon her part to sustain the Damages.

Having received the award of the Threatened Legals after  
I indicated it, and my agreement with W. A. and W. A. in 1828  
to be to the Secretary of the Treasury, on the  
dated July 16, 1800, in the expectation, that he  
following letter the question whether the public ought  
would consent, with the other heads of depart-  
ment, under the peculiar circumstances of the case to  
ment, as in fact he did, and bring the matter to a  
conclusion the agreement of the Damaged award a report  
regular and final determination. App. Dan. W. A.

~~Washington~~ 46 Sept 1890  
In this letter I incurred

[illegible]

~~"The Government has not induced by any promise  
resignation, which I now upon are those charges,  
will I flatter myself constitute them a just and  
honourable charge against the United States."~~

~~I take the liberty to present the case to~~  
~~consideration and to request that I may be~~  
~~in~~

*Page 44 of James McHenry's 91-page draft letter and accompanying documents, dated December 20, 1802, addressed to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Nathaniel Macon. The letter, a lengthy justification of the former secretary of war's conduct in office, was read in the House chamber on December 28, 1802, and privately printed by McHenry in Baltimore in 1803. This page, which contains lengthy emendations and cross-outs in McHenry's handwriting (as well as the dictated first draft in a clerical hand), illustrates the extreme care and attention with which McHenry sought to clear his name before the Congress and the American people.*

printed version will undoubtedly add a new dimension of understanding to an unfortunate incident coming at the end of a distinguished career.

### The Don Vicente Sebastian Pintado Papers

One of the most pleasurable aspects of a manuscript curator's profession is the unexpected, and always welcome, element of surprise. In November 1973, a conscientious librarian in the Duluth (Minn.) Public Library wrote to the Manuscript Division to inquire if the Library of Congress were interested in acquiring a collection donated by a local citizen, Mrs. Robert M. Adams, which the Duluth Library could not retain because of the lack of provision for manuscript collections in that repository. The collection was described as approximately 600 items pertaining to the work of the American surveyor, David Burr (cousin to Aaron), 1797-1815. This description was more than sufficient to whet the interest of specialists in this rather obscure period of Southeastern United States history.

Upon the collection's arrival in the Library in January 1974, however, it soon became apparent that the bulk of the manuscripts and maps had little or nothing to do with David Burr. With the knowledgeable assistance of specialists in the Geography and Map Division and the Latin American, Portuguese, and Spanish Division, it gradually emerged that this extraordinary collection of papers was none other than the personal archive of Don Vicente Sebastian Pintado, assistant surveyor general of Louisiana and, after 1803, chief surveyor of Spanish West Florida. Pintado's papers include material which he took with him after the purchase of the Louisiana

Territory by the United States in 1803. In addition to Pintado's personal and professional correspondence, the collection includes part of the land records of Spanish West Florida, which encompassed Louisiana from the Mississippi River to the Pearl north of Lake Pontchartrain, the Gulf coasts of the present-day states of Mississippi, Alabama (Mobile and vicinity), and western Florida (Pensacola and St. Marks vicinity). Pintado clearly considered these papers his personal property.<sup>1</sup>

Since the 1820's, the physical location of Pintado's personal archive has been of intense interest to many people, particularly land claimants, state officials, geographers, and historians. The Louisiana State Archives has prepared a microfilm edition (5 reels) of 11 volumes of W.P.A. translations and indexes of the official Pintado papers, the originals being, for the most part, now located in the Louisiana State University's Department of Archives. The microfilm edition is available at several libraries, including Louisiana State University, Tulane University, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, and the University of West Florida, Pensacola. The *Louisiana Genealogical Register* is also publishing abstracts from the Spanish West Florida records. These 19 volumes cover the period from June 3, 1782, to September 10, 1810.<sup>2</sup>

The largest amount of material in the Library's new collection is official and personal correspondence to and from Pintado. His correspondents include Carlos de Grand Pré, governor of Baton Rouge; William C. C. Claiborne, governor of Louisiana; Vincent Folch, U.S. governor for West Florida; Ira Kneeland, Pintado's deputy surveyor; French surveyor general Carlos Trudeau; and the Spanish officials Don Manuel Lopez (Baton Rouge) and Christian de Armas (New Orleans). In addition to the correspondence series, the collection includes detailed land surveys and plats; field books; land concessions; manuscript and printed maps; and official land records, particularly for the Baton Rouge, Feliciana, Mobile, and Pensacola districts of Spanish West Florida. The variegated types of materials in the Pintado collection give valuable insight into frequently trilingual (English, French, Spanish) relationships which necessarily developed in the stretch of land cessions between Baton Rouge on the west and Pensacola on the east. As such,

the archive which Pintado retained in his personal possession after he removed from the Baton Rouge area to Pensacola and, later, to Havana, Cuba, throws a great amount of light on a rather shadowy period in Gulf Coast history (1790's-1820's).

The actual number of maps and plats (both partial and complete) proved to be closer to 50 than 20. The maps are mainly hand drawn (manuscript) in pen and ink (some with wash) of districts and particular areas of Spanish West Florida, on which names of landowners (some cadastral), streams, towns, etc., appear. The plat and map titles include: Florida Parishes, Louisiana; Nueva Feliciana; Manchac District, Louisiana, 1799, by Morales; 1809 Kneeland map of Baton Rouge; 1815 Pintado map of Baton Rouge; 1820 Pintado map of West Florida; and Pintado's map of St. Marks, Florida, and vicinity. Among the printed maps are Lopez' 1783 map of St. Augustine; S. Lewis' map, circa 1796, of the United States east of the Mississippi River; and the lower western quarter of LaFon's 1806 map of Louisiana.

The main importance of the Pintado collection is the wealth of information it provides on the critical transitional period from the time of the Louisiana Purchase (1803), through the seizure and occupation of West Florida by the United States (1813-14), to the ultimate cession by Spain of East and West Florida to the United States by the terms of the Adams-Onís Treaty (1819). The relative fullness of Pintado's archive should do much to bring about a reevaluation of the surveyor general's hitherto disputed role in the transitional period of Louisiana and West Florida history. Pintado has been accused of permitting false land grants to be surveyed for purely financial gain. These accusations of supernumerary grants and surveys, which frequently resulted in multiple land claims and ensuing lawsuits, have tended to cloud Pintado's reputation precisely because his personal papers were unavailable for study.<sup>3</sup>

Once the Pintado collection has been processed and chronologically arranged, the scholar should be in a far better position than heretofore to pass judgment on the chief surveyor of Spanish West Florida and on the status of early land claims in that area (particularly in the Baton Rouge, Mobile, and Pensacola districts) in the transitional

*This 1813 map of Pensacola, West Florida, executed in pen-and-ink and watercolor, is a representative example of the cartographical skill of surveyor general Don Vicente Sebastian Pintado. It is signed and dated by Pintado and is countersigned by Felix Cala, secretary of the Ayunamiento Constitucional. In this plan, Pintado describes and shows plans for the construction of a new cathedral and other new public buildings in the area of the main plaza, the Plaza de Pensacola.*

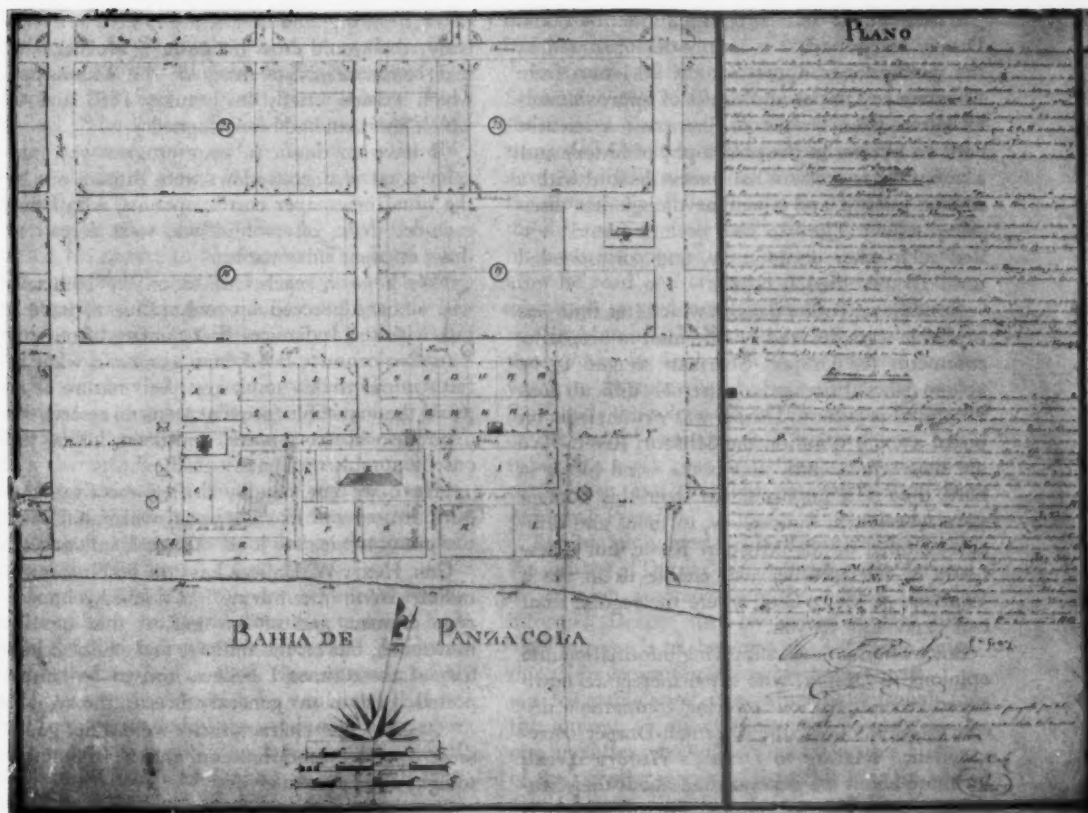
period of Louisiana and Florida history. As such, the Pintado papers fill a notable gap in the history of the effects of the young American republic's earliest attempts at territorial expansionism in the first two decades of the 19th century.

The Pintado papers form a particularly important group of manuscripts for the early history of West Florida. Their value will be further enhanced when they are examined along with the voluminous East Florida papers (65,000 items); the Jeannette Thurber O'Connor and Woodbury Lowery transcripts from Spanish archives; and reproductions from French, British, and Spanish archives pertaining to the history of Louisiana, the Gulf Coast, and the two Floridas.

### John William Draper Family Papers

John William Draper's three-volume *History of the American Civil War* (New York: Harper, 1867-70) is regarded as one of the better histories of the war written in the years following soon after the conflict. A major reason for the work's superior quality lay in the scientist-historian's initiative in appealing for help from military and naval officers who had served during the war and from civil officials in high posts. The kind of assistance he received is clearly illustrated in letters in the approximately 4,000 items donated in 1974 as the final segment of the Draper family papers. The first segment of these papers was discussed in the Manuscript Division's acquisitions report in the October 1974 issue of *The Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress*, and Draper's scientific career was emphasized.

In writing volume 1 of his *History*, which he devoted to an analysis of the background and origins of the war and which was published in 1867, Draper drew upon help that he solicited privately. In the volume's preface, however, he publicly announced his desire for aid. A number



of wartime military, naval, and civil officers responded.

Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman saw the preface and on June 30, 1867, wrote to Draper from St. Louis, where he was serving as commander of the Division of the Missouri. Having read two of Draper's earlier works, *A History of the Intellectual Development of Europe* (1863) and *Thoughts on the Future Civil Policy of America* (1865), Sherman respected his ability. He informed Draper that he had examined "grotesque & perverted accounts" of the war in "books called histories." "These histories were designed for the hour and will soon be forgotten," he said, "but I feel certain that yours will have a character far more enduring and am therefore willing to aid you, if my aid is desired."

Draper replied promptly that he could "scarcely say how deeply indebted" he would be for Sherman's help. Volume 2 would encompass the period from Lincoln's inauguration to the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863, he stated, and was "for the most part written" but would not be published "until next winter." "It would be very acceptable to me (if not troubling you too much) should you give me your ideas not only as to military combinations and their results, but also as to the general principles that were involved in the struggle."

Sherman responded that he would "at some leisure time" give his "ideas of some of the 'Causes' of events prior to the proclamation of emancipation." He also offered a two-page discourse on the "Law" of God that "governs all things."

These initial letters between Sherman and Draper suggest what is amply demonstrated by the remainder of approximately 60 letters from Sherman to Draper and drafts of approximately 40 letters from Draper to Sherman: a scientist with an interest in the philosophy of history and a talent for expression had met a general with a similar interest and a similar though less disciplined talent. The two men became friends, visited each other occasionally, and corresponded until Draper died in 1882.

Sundays and other days on which free time was available were devoted by Sherman to preparing comments for Draper. Sherman seemed to be able to concentrate under extremely difficult conditions. One letter to Draper was written from on board a small vessel on the Missouri River. "We are now windbound, that is the wind blows so hard that it is impossible to steer this boat, a stern wheeler, in the shallow, tortuous and difficult channel of the Missouri River, but a few hours of fair weather will enable us to reach Yancton, or Sioux City, where the regular mail can carry this to you."

Since Sherman was supplying information and opinions to Draper, who often merely acknowledged receipt, without offering comparable discourses of his own, the Sherman-Draper correspondence relating to Draper's *History* reveals far more about the general than about the scientist-historian. Draper relished Sherman's letters and frequently expressed gratitude for his continuing contributions to the evidence on which the *History* was being based. "It's a big job as poor Mr. Lincoln would say, and so you see how I may well appreciate your letters which in a few words go right to the core of the thing."

"Bull Run Battle," Sherman said, "was lost by us, not from want of combination, strategy, or tactics, but because our army was green as grass—as innocent of war & its dangers as . . . sunday school children, and dropped to pieces as soon as it encountered resistance."

"McClellan was not so much to blame for the time he took in organization. His fatal mistake was in living in a house in Washington. He should have tented with his Army—he had fine powers of organization, but failed in battle, the real test."

Gen. John A. McClernand "was and is the meanest man we ever had in the west—with a

mean, gnawing ambition, ready to destroy everybody who would cross his path." (McClernand had commanded an Army of the Mississippi, which existed briefly in January 1863 and to which Sherman had been assigned.)

"I have no doubt in your progress you perceive what erroneous views were thrown out by the usual newspaper correspondents, who being excluded from our confidence, were forced to draw on their imagination."

"We hope to reach Omaha on the 10th and will at once proceed up to Laramie to have a talk with the Indians of that quarter of our *too* extensive country, but I must confess a want of faith in our ability to change their nature or to avoid the inevitable fate that seems in reserve for a people who scorn work, and deem killing the only honorable occupation in life."

"Have we not steadily drifted too fast to a pure democracy? Has not our Government been too prone to yield to local clamor & influence?"

Gen. Henry W. Halleck has "the best informed military mind in our army." "I doubt his knowledge of men, and of the motives that usually move men, but on the military and political history of these times I believe him to be better posted . . . than any general officer in the army."

"Grant's chief characteristics were quiet good sense—perfect subordination and a willingness to fight and never to give up."

Grant's quiet nature fitted Sherman's conception of the proper image of a general. In explaining to Draper why he preferred not to be cited as an authority in the *History*, Sherman said, "Most military men are taciturn in word or on paper. So that it has grown into a proverb, that a talking General, or a writing one, cannot be an actor [i.e., an effective general]. This may be so, or it may not be, but for the time being we rather prefer to be considered in that light. . . ."

In May 1868 Draper sent Sherman portions of the proofsheets for volume 2 of the *History* for corrections and revisions, and in June he sent a prepublication copy of the entire volume. Sherman was becoming increasingly enthusiastic about the project. He invited questions in regard to subjects that would be discussed in volume 3 and stated that he could devote virtually all of September and October 1868 to answering them. He also offered to lend Draper his letterbooks for the years 1863–65.

Twelve of Sherman's letterbooks were shipped to Draper in September, and soon thereafter Sherman also sent him the original letters of instruction he had received from Grant and Halleck. The letters, Sherman stated, "go right to the point of every matter illustrating the object and aim of every important military event of 1863, 4 & 5."

Sherman set tentative dates by which he expected his papers to be returned. Draper wrote on September 23 that he was studying the letters for more than 12 hours each day and would send them back by the dates Sherman suggested. "My method of working is this—I have prepared a rough sketch of all the leading affairs of the war arranged in suitable chapters. Then as I gain new information on different topics I introduce it in the proper part of the manuscript. So at present I am going carefully through your letters modifying my manuscript according to the new light I get—correcting many interpretations and inserting novel facts."

Draper asked Sherman for additional information about the liberal surrender terms he had offered to Confederate Gen. Joseph E. Johnston in North Carolina in 1865. Sherman composed a 21-page reply, in which he explained that he had been persuaded of the need to terminate the war as soon as possible. In January 1865 he had talked with Edwin M. Stanton in Savannah. The secretary of war told Sherman that "he was worn out with care and labor; that the Government was far more embarrassed for money than the world knew of, and that unless the war ended soon he feared bankruptcy, and consequent anarchy all over the land." In March Sherman visited President Lincoln at City Point, Va. Lincoln "looked haggard and care-worn beyond anything I had seen before." Sherman concluded that the need to end the war quickly was greater than he had realized.

Sherman believed that much of the turmoil of Reconstruction was traceable to the failure of Congress and the President to prepare in advance a policy in regard to the defeated South. "From Mr. Lincoln's conversation at City Point, I inferred that he, and consequently, that his successor and Cabinet were 'all ready' for peace . . . but I now believe that . . . Congress had not, in anticipation of the event made the adequate laws, and that the Executive had

not made up his mind what to do, when the military part was ended."

In October 1869, Draper began sending to Sherman copies of the proofsheets of volume 3 of the *History*. Sherman, who earlier in the year had succeeded Grant as commanding general of the Army and had moved to Washington, received the first group of sheets on a Sunday and spent the day reading them and writing comments. At intervals for approximately three months thereafter he read and criticized proofsheets. Draper submitted revised proofsheets to the publisher, and in March 1870 Sherman received a copy of the volume in final form. After reading it, he wrote to Draper that he was "perfectly satisfied" with the role assigned him in the "Historical Drama." "I congratulate you on having contributed a work that will compare in historical merit with any that has emanated from the American Press."

Possibly stimulated by his close association with the writing of Draper's *History*, Sherman decided to write an autobiography. In August 1874 he informed Draper that he wished to visit him. "My purpose is to show you in confidence something I have written in my leisure moments . . . not for publication, but rather as personal, for the interest of my children and to assist some one hereafter who will in time make up a History of the peculiar events of the Civil War, in addition to those already in existence." Draper encouraged him to publish the manuscript, and by January 1875 Sherman had decided to do so. He told Draper that he had reduced the length of the work and had "toned down" passages that might provoke controversy. The book appeared in two volumes with the title *Memoirs of General William T. Sherman* (New York: D. Appleton, 1875).

Draper had urged Sherman to publish his *Memoirs* partly because he viewed him as a desirable candidate for President in 1876. "For my own part I sincerely believe that the highest interest of this nation will be subserved by your succeeding General Grant and whether you may like it or not, I shall exert myself in my narrow sphere of influence earnestly and entirely to bring about that result." Sherman replied that he was "alarmed" by Draper's pronouncement. A "good many" people, including Vice President Henry

Wilson, had urged him to become a candidate, but he did not wish to do so.

In a country like ours the President is a mere executor of Laws made by others, over which he exercises a doubtful control. He must take things as he finds them, and cannot purify Congress or the Public Administration, though the world holds him responsible for both, and the chances are that at the end of his four years instead of acquiring fame or fortune, he loses both, with the remainder of his life poisoned by reflections of an opportunity lost—I have seen the practical workings of this in Taylor, Lincoln, Johnson and Grant, and were I to shut my eyes and hope for better things I would be a fool—

Sherman continued as commanding officer of the Army until 1883, when he retired just four months before reaching the compulsory retirement age of 64. Early in 1881 he had received a letter from Draper, who had reached the age of 70 but who announced plans for continued work. "This is my 61st birthday," Sherman replied on February 8, "therefore you have only nine years the start of me . . . I am glad you are laying out work for years ahead, as my observation is that as soon as a man lets go and gives up congenial work he is sure to be called away." Ironically, Draper died less than a year later, in 1882, and Sherman, whose chief occupations after his retirement were letterwriting and socializing rather than work, lived until 1891.

Among the other people who responded to Draper's request for assistance in writing his *History* were Generals John G. Barnard, John Gibbon, Quincy A. Gillmore, George W. Morgan, and George W. Cullum, Admiral John A. Dahlgren, and Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton. With none of these, however, does Draper appear to have engaged in correspondence equal in frequency or duration to his correspondence with Sherman. Dahlgren supplied Draper with a variety of materials, including a 235-page description of his activities as commander of the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron, 1863–65, on the basis of which Draper revised his manuscript. After reading volume 3 of the *History*, Dahlgren wrote to Draper, "I cannot but feel much obliged by the space you have allowed to the operations that concern myself and their treatment, which will dispel much of the unjust impressions that have prevailed in regard to the Naval operations off Charleston."

Stanton sent to Draper copies of the War Department's annual reports and on August 2, 1867, issued an order directing the adjutant general to allow Draper to examine any records on file in the department and to have made for him, on his request, copies of records. Draper appears not to have taken full advantage of this extraordinary privilege. He could not have done so in the relatively short time he allowed himself to write the *History* and without spending many months in Washington. For his basic facts he relied largely on published accounts available to him in New York and on the information supplied to him by Sherman, Dahlgren, and others who responded to his solicitations.

The addition to the Draper papers also includes approximately 65 letters from two of Draper's sons, John C. Draper and Henry Draper, written from June to September 1862. Both young men were serving as surgeons in the 12th New York State Militia. The first few letters are from Fort McHenry, near Baltimore; the remainder are from Harpers Ferry. The sons alternated writing letters to the family. They discussed the mechanics of setting up and maintaining hospital facilities, reported on sickness among the soldiers, and told anecdotes of camp life. Henry occasionally wrote about his nighttime studies of the sky with a telescope.

Gen. Thomas J. ("Stonewall") Jackson's Confederate forces attacked Harpers Ferry in September. The last letter in the series from the Draper sons is dated September 15, the day on which the regiment surrendered to Jackson. Henry wrote the letter, in which he briefly described battles on the 13th, 14th, and 15th. On the 14th an enemy shell landed within 10 feet of a tent in which John was sitting and another within two feet of Henry, who was fastening his leggings while sitting on open ground. Neither shell exploded. Henry watched the second one as it bounced harmlessly away from him into the Potomac River.

After the regiment surrendered, the men were paroled as prisoners of war. A postscript to Henry's letter, dated September 17, contained a cryptic message: "Just arrived in Frederick Maryland paroled. Going to Monocacy to await transportation. Home in a day or so. Will write again tomorrow."



*An 1862 photograph of the moon made by John William Draper with telescope and camera. The illustration is of a paper print made by Draper from his collodion negative. From the Draper family papers.*

Both sons reached home safely and resumed their careers in the study and teaching of science.

Although some very significant manuscripts by John William Draper were donated to the Library in 1973, the great majority of his correspondence came with the 1974 gift, and apart from the exchange with prominent Civil War figures, there is much to interest the historian of science. There are over 1,100 letters to Draper from scientists and physicians, ranging from minor figures to such important investigators as Joseph Henry, John Tyndall, Benjamin Silliman, Jr., Simon Newcomb, Samuel P. Langley, Alexander Agassiz, and others. These date chiefly from the second half of his life.

Draper was one of the more significant 19th-century American scientists, and although the availability of his correspondence will not necessitate a major reappraisal of his career, it will throw much light on his relationships and furnish a considerable amount of additional biographical and historical material. A few selections will illustrate the richness of content. A series of 1862 letters written by John William Draper and son Daniel to son Henry, then serving at Harpers Ferry, describe at length their pioneering attempts at astrophotography in the Draper observatory at Hastings-on-Hudson, N.Y., and in-

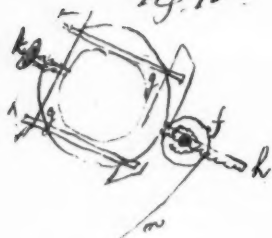
clude paper proofs of photographs of the telescope mechanism and of the moon. On August 13 the elder Draper sent a series of lunar photographs, explaining in detail his new method of developing the plates and noting:

From these negatives I have made a good many 2½ inch magnified positives . . . but what is mainly wanted is a better mirror. I have examined the present one carefully, and am satisfied that its figure is imperfect. . . . When you get home if you put your plan in operation to emery the surface once more . . . you will get such photographs as have never yet been seen. The want of equatorial motion in the telescope is altogether overcome, and your present mounting is better for the purpose than any they have in Europe. With a more perfect mirror you can get lunar photographs a yard in diameter, if you choose to go to the trouble and expense.

Father and son had photographed both Mars and Venus through their telescope. "The former photographs easily, the latter intensely, as might be expected, in 8 seconds giving a black solarization." Although Daniel had "put a good many improvements in the clock, making it more easy to use and more soft in its motions," there were still "a great many beautiful problems to solve." In an undated draft in this series to Henry, the elder Draper took some consolation, despite the deteriorating condition of the mirror and the resulting poor photographs, in the splendid appearance of Mars, "the spots of an olive green color the rest of the planet being of course red. I had no idea of seeing the polar spot so beautifully plain."

Draper's work in the wider effects of radiant energy is well illustrated in several series of letters. Unfortunately these are restricted to the latter part of his life, but in his correspondence with such figures as Tyndall, C. Piazza Smyth, and J. Norman Lockyer he recounted (sometimes in great detail) his earlier work, discussing its relation to the contributions of others, defending disputed claims, and furnishing bibliographical details of his publications. It is obvious that as Draper's creative scientific work became less frequent after the Civil War, he was even more anxious to lay claim to priority. An example is his late and unflinching stance on the rather complex problem of photographic portraiture; he sent several letters similar to that written to General Sherman on October 10, 1868: "Perhaps you

Fig. IV



- a. sand tube consisting of old diploma case
- b. sand pit consisting of end of powder flask
- c. index scale to show how wide the hole is open
- d. reservoir to catch sand
- ee. leaden weight one inch diameter & 8 inches long
- n. n. string going from weight over guide pulley, f. round pulley, f. wheel drives the rack
- h. the rack wheel drives the slide
- gg. slides and plate holder
- k. binding screw to fasten slide at proper angle for motion

### Use of the Instrument

I Turn the slide <sup>gg</sup> to the proper angle so that the moon's motion may be parallel to the rack <sup>h</sup> and fasten with the binding screw <sup>k</sup>. It takes only a minute or so to do this & it can be done with great accuracy.

II Lift out the weight <sup>ee</sup> from the sand tube <sup>a</sup>, shut the index <sup>c</sup> to stop the hole in <sup>b</sup>. Then pour the sand out of the reservoir <sup>d</sup> into the tube <sup>a</sup>, put the weight <sup>ee</sup> on top of it as seen in the figure. Wind up the string <sup>n</sup> so as to bring the rack <sup>h</sup> to proper position as far as it can let a little sand flow out so as to tighten the string and all is ready. (The string makes three turns round the pulley <sup>f</sup>)

III Put the yellow glass at the back of the slide <sup>gg</sup> (the position cannot be shown in this figure) Put the collodion plate on the slide. Center the moon on the plate. You need be in no hurry for the image though very luminous is not photographed. Screen the mouth of the telescope with a sheet of fastboard. Remove the yellow glass. Wait a few seconds for the telescope to stop vibrating. Remove the fastboard screen. Listen to the ticking of the pendulum. Screen the mouth again. Remove the collodion plate & develop.

There is no need to counterpoise the slide whatever the position of the moon the rack has always to push and the weight is so heavy that it can overcome any resistance. The accompanying photographs are very hard to make as the light had to be admitted only through the door door. the shadows are horrible some

*To secure clear photographs of celestial objects with their telescope at Hastings-on-Hudson, N.Y., the Drapers had to construct an accurate "clock" mechanism which would correlate the movement of the telescope with the apparent movement of the object being photographed. The tracking device, called a "clepsydra" by the Drapers, is explained in a letter of July 18, 1862, from Daniel and John William Draper to Henry Draper. This page of the letter, in the elder Draper's hand, also explains the photographic process, which utilized the collodion plate method. From the Draper family papers.*

know that the application of photography to the taking of portraits was my invention. The first likeness of a living countenance was taken by me at a time when it was affirmed in Europe to be an impossibility. It was in 1839." (The controversy was examined in the 1973 acquisitions report.)

Not only does Draper's correspondence illuminate his own work, but numerous letters from other investigators furnish a panorama of the life of science in the mid-19th century. For example, Joseph Henry wrote in 1863 complaining about the manner of the establishment of the National Academy of Sciences. He knew nothing of the project until the resolutions for its establishment were prepared for Congress; "it may do good but I do not approve of the manner of its establishment or the list of members. . . . The list contains a number of names unknown to the history of science and omits an equal number richly deserving a place." And all who wrote Draper were not scientists and Civil War figures; he corresponded with men as diverse as William Gladstone and the historian George Bancroft, who had the highest regard for Draper's efforts to elucidate the past. Bancroft purchased a copy of *Thoughts on the Future Civil Policy of America* (1865) and "immediately read every word of it. . . . It is my hope that you will lead our countrymen to the better exercise of reflective judgment, & the clearer perception of the universality of law. They might also find themselves stimulated to the study of your great works on Physiology & the intellectual development of Europe." Reading the first volume of the work on the Civil War (1867), Bancroft reported that "I expected a great deal from you: you have gone beyond my expectations & taken me by storm. . . . Your volume is the most striking in point of philosophy & manner, the analysis of

causes, the vivid description of causes in action, that has yet appeared in American history." And upon receiving that "wonderful book," Draper's *History of the Conflict Between Religion and Science* (1874), Bancroft wrote that the volume "took from me half my night. . . . No man in America could have come near what you have accomplished."

The 1974 portion of the Draper papers includes production materials for a number of John William Draper's books and articles. As in 1973, a large amount of son Daniel's correspondence is included, chiefly pertaining to the meteorological observatory in Central Park. There are manuscript materials of a number of other Drapers, as well as a miscellany of printed matter, financial documents, and photographs.

#### Eugene Meyer Papers\*<sup>4</sup>

The *Quarterly Journal* of October 1974 contained a detailed description of the papers of Agnes Meyer. At that time it was anticipated that the papers of Mr. Meyer would soon join those of his wife. It is gratifying to record now that the Eugene Meyer papers came to the Library of Congress during the past year. Mr. Meyer is remembered as a friend and benefactor of the Library, donor of a Thoreau notebook in 1940, and over the years a generous supporter of its literary and cultural programs. "You have done more," wrote Archibald MacLeish, "for the hearing of poetry than anyone else in America."

The papers of Eugene Meyer (1875-1959), investment banker, government official, and newspaper publisher, are large in volume (ca. 55,000 items) and, beyond their obvious use for biographical purposes, provide substantial material for studies on the interrelationships between business, government, and the press. A few early items in the collection date from 1904-9, but the greatest amount of material begins in 1917 and ends with Mr. Meyer's death in 1959. The papers divide naturally into four broad categories with appropriate subdivisions: family correspondence, general correspondence, subject files (mainly from government service), and speech and article file. Special items are also found in the papers, for example, a World War II diary of Eugene Meyer III and an incomplete



*Eugene Meyer (1875–1959), investment banker, government official, and newspaper publisher. Photograph by his friend Edward Steichen. Reproduced with the permission of Mrs. Edward Steichen.*

copy of Mr. Meyer's oral history transcript made for Columbia University's Oral History Collection.

Eugene Meyer was born on October 31, 1875, in Los Angeles, to Eugene and Harriet (Newmark) Meyer. Both parents were immigrants. The senior Meyer had arrived in California in 1859 from Alsace, France, after a trip which included crossing the Isthmus of Panama on mule back. His mother, a native of Germany, had reached the West Coast after a voyage around Cape Horn. Mr. Meyer eventually entered the banking business through the French firm of Lazard Frères. In the mid-1880's the family moved to San Francisco.

It was in this area that Eugene Meyer grew up and received his earliest education. In 1892 he entered the University of California, but when his father's business necessitated a move to New York, he transferred to Yale University, graduating in 1895. There followed two years in Europe, studying foreign languages and learning the ways of the banking world in England, France, and Germany. Upon his return Meyer followed his father into Lazard Frères. Here he remained for a brief period, resigning in 1901 to establish his own firm of Eugene Meyer, Jr., and Company, on Wall Street. From then until America's entry into World War I, Meyer amassed a considerable fortune through investments in copper mining, railroads, and the automobile and chemical industries.

Meyer volunteered his services to the government immediately after Woodrow Wilson's speech to Congress on April 2, 1917. "Your splendid speech to the Congress," he wrote to the President, "has stirred the patriotism of every true American. With many others I feel that I would like to devote myself at this time to the service of the country if a way can be found in which I can be useful. I take the liberty of writing to you to offer myself unreservedly, and sincerely trust that you may find an opportunity to call upon me." Wilson accepted his offer and thus began a period of public service that was to continue through seven Presidents.

Meyer's first work was with his friend Bernard Baruch in the Council of National Defense. Then after a brief period with the War Industries Board, he was appointed director of the War Finance Corporation, a position which extended into the postwar period. Following a term as commissioner of the Farm Loan Board, Meyer was named a governor of the Federal Reserve Board by President Hoover, at the depth of the depression. While in this post he also undertook at the President's request to set up the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Soon after Franklin D. Roosevelt took office, Meyer resigned from the board.

His intention was to retire to his estate in Mt. Kisco, N.Y. In fact, he was on the threshold of a new and third career. Within a month he purchased the *Washington Post* at auction. In 1954 he bought the *Washington Times-Herald* and merged it with the *Post*. This paper absorbed

most of his energies for the remainder of his life, although for six months in 1946, in answer to President Truman's call, he served as the first president of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank). His final government service came in 1953 when President Eisenhower appointed him to the Committee on Purchases of Blind-made Products. Mr. Meyer died in Washington on July 17, 1959.

The three careers of Eugene Meyer are well documented in his papers. Although there are no diaries or letters for the early years in California or for his college days at Yale University, the major experiences and dominant influences of this formative period are recounted in some detail in the reminiscences which Meyer prepared for Columbia University's Oral History Collection. The earliest material in the papers includes memoranda written by Meyer at the outset of his business career setting forth basic principles of management and an analysis of economic and fiscal conditions at the turn of the century. Of human interest is a "chronicle" of a motor trip through England and Scotland in 1906 in a 28-32-horsepower Mercedes. Correspondence begins in 1907 with letters from his brother Edgar who reported on the condition of mining companies while traveling in Colorado, Utah, and Nevada; subsequently he went to England and the continent and wrote back on various aspects of the international banking business. The collection also contains a few letters from Meyer's father and mother while on visits to Germany in 1908 and 1909.

Correspondence for the years 1910-1917 is sparse; letters which survived for this period relate to efforts to regulate the New York stock exchange, railroads, the organization and capitalization of corporations, and the impact of the European war on business and financial conditions in the United States. In the latter connection Meyer circulated a letter in August 1914, mainly for the benefit of European investors, analyzing the likely effect of the war on foreign trade and attempting to reassure the holders of American securities of the integrity of their investments. Meyer thought at this time that America's involvement in the conflict was unlikely, but by 1916 the papers show that he considered such a contingency inevitable. Consequently, he began

to liquidate his company to serve the country in some capacity.

At this point the papers take on greater substance, and the student of public administration will find helpful files on the internal operations of certain wartime agencies. These are the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, the War Industries Board, and the War Finance Corporation. Because of Meyer's prominent role as managing director of the War Finance Corporation, files on this agency are of most significance. They are chronologically arranged, and a reading of them supplies insight into the day-to-day workings of an agency that has been referred to as the grandfather of all government lending agencies. The basic purpose of the WFC was to provide capital for the financing of industries necessary to the prosecution of the war. Congress extended its life beyond the war, however, authorizing it to make loans until such time as private international trading had sufficiently recovered. For a complete picture of its work, the chronological files should be supplemented by others, especially by the correspondence of Floyd Harrison, assistant to Mr. Meyer; the minutes of the meetings of the board of directors; and the correspondence of business firms seeking government loans.

Meyer's management of the WFC ended with the agency's dissolution in 1925. His respite from government service, however, was brief. In 1927 President Coolidge brought him back to Washington as commissioner of the Farm Loan Board. His efforts to rehabilitate the board after a period of inept management and its work in relieving the economic distress of American farmers can be traced both through correspondence and the minutes of its meetings. For his years as governor of the Federal Reserve Board (1929-33), there are similar files of office and general correspondence, as well as board minutes. Ogden Mills, Bernard Baruch, and Carter Glass correspondence is complementary for fiscal policy matters. Associated collections in the Manuscript Division for a study of the Federal Reserve Board include the papers of Woodrow Wilson, William G. McAdoo, Leonard Ayres, William Jennings Bryan, Norman Davis, Emanuel Goldenweiser, and Ogden Mills.

An interesting memo from these years notes that President Hoover wanted Meyer to resign

from the Federal Reserve Board after his defeat in 1932; no governor had ever resigned because of an election. Meyer remarked that his job was nonpolitical and that he was not going to make it political by resigning at that time. Other memos of value for this phase of his career concern the so-called banking holiday of 1933 and the German financial crisis in the autumn of 1931. In commenting on President Roosevelt's closing of the banks, Meyer observed that the Federal Reserve Board, through its order closing all banks belonging to the Federal Reserve system, was actually responsible for the banking holiday.

Correspondence for the *Washington Post* years will be of special interest to students of American politics from the New Deal through the administrations of Dwight D. Eisenhower. Among the best correspondence is that with Felix Frankfurter. Meyer had a long friendship with Frankfurter, dating from 1917. Frankfurter sought Meyer's views on economic and fiscal policies in the early days of the New Deal, gently chiding him on his opposition to certain of FDR's programs, and in the course of correspondence extending over several years, alternately criticized and praised various features of the *Washington Post*. Harold Ickes also followed the *Post* editorials closely and wrote frankly of his disagreements. "I am writing this letter, not to be argumentative, but to set the record straight." In this spirit the secretary of the interior frequently pointed out what he thought were inaccurate statements in editorials on such issues as public lands and the petroleum problem, and he was not hesitant to lecture the editor and publisher on the responsibilities of the press.

Meyer was a Republican and active in presidential politics. He was an early supporter of Alfred M. Landon in 1936, and there is considerable correspondence between the two men concerning his nomination and campaign. Material of this nature, although less in volume, also exists for the presidential campaigns of Wendell Willkie and Thomas E. Dewey. Of all the Republican candidates during this period, the papers confirm that Meyer was closest to General Eisenhower. Other letters which political historians will wish to read for commentary on domestic and foreign affairs are those of Joseph E. Davies, John Foster Dulles, George Gallup,

John J. McCloy, Henry A. Wallace, and Sumner Welles. Of special note is a series of exchanges between Meyer and his British friend Brendan Bracken, minister of information during World War II. Bracken was an astute observer of the American political scene and expressed strong judgments on both American and British leaders and their policies.

Meyer's interests were not confined to the world of business. Archibald MacLeish and Carl Sandburg corresponded with him on literature and poetry. His friend Edward Steichen, noted photographer, kept in touch with him over the years about photographic exhibits and the work of the Museum of Modern Art. The Freer Gallery of Art claimed his attention, and there are letters to and from Charles Freer supplementing those in Mrs. Meyer's papers. He was also a generous contributor to educational causes, and Yale University files document his particular concern that his alma mater prepare young persons for public service. In the 1920's the Eugene Meyer Public Service Fund was established to support programs in the Department of Political Science; later he endowed the Eugene Meyer Chair in Political Science. Antioch College was also a beneficiary, and its Law School now occupies the Meyer residence at 1624 Crescent Place in Washington, D.C.

At the end of the collection is a quite complete file of Meyer's speeches and articles dating from 1907 to 1956. This file will be helpful for studying the evolution of his thoughts on economic, political, and social matters. Moreover, its use will be greatly facilitated by an itemized index. Finally, attention should be called to the family letters which reveal Mr. Meyer's interest in the lives and careers of his children and, in turn, their affection and respect for him. Most of the letters between Mr. and Mrs. Meyer are contained in the Agnes Meyer papers, but for a full family portrait both collections should be consulted.

#### Charles Phelps Taft Papers

Among the largest and most important collections of family papers in the Library of Congress are those of the Taft family. Complementing those of his father, William Howard Taft, and his brother, Senator Robert A. Taft, is a very large gift of the papers of Charles P. Taft II, the youngest of the President's three children. Mr.

Taft is a prominent Cincinnati lawyer who, in addition to maintaining a large practice, has dedicated his entire adult life to extensive civic and religious volunteer work. The 84 file drawers of papers, when organized for reader use, will provide full documentation for scholars interested in many organizations and in one involved individual's service in government, politics, and religious and welfare service over more than 50 years, on local, national, and international levels. The broad-visioned, ecumenical Taft maintained files on "YMCA Catholics," "Catholic-Jewish Miscellany," "Discrimination and Civil Rights," and "Pre-1970 Civil Rights Economics."

"Charlie" Taft was born in Cincinnati in 1897, traveled extensively as a small boy while his father was governor general of the Philippines, and in 1904, when his father became secretary of war, came to live in Washington. At the Force public school he knew Quentin Roosevelt and soon became a member of the "White House Gang"; with his friends, he was once severely reprimanded by Theodore Roosevelt for putting spitballs on the White House portraits. During the presidency of his own father he went to the Taft School in Watertown, Conn., from which he graduated in 1913. The influence of his uncle, Horace Taft, founder of the school, prevailed until his death in the 1940's; the school and Yale are among Charlie's long-term interests.

Mr. Taft attended Yale until 1917, when he volunteered for army service; he was graduated in absentia in 1918. In October 1917 he was married to Eleanor K. Chase of Waterbury, Conn. They shared a common enthusiasm for religious and civic activities until Mrs. Taft's death in 1961.

There is a large number of family papers, including perhaps three or four hundred letters exchanged with President and Mrs. Taft. The President wrote long, detailed letters about politics and people, world affairs, family and friends and always relished Charlie's replies. Most of Mr. Taft's letters were dictated, but there are many holograph letters written on trains or when no secretary was available. A not unfamiliar complaint in an eight-page letter to "My very dear Charlie" and signed "Your loving father, Wm. H. Taft" (March 3, 1918, while Charlie was in the army in Europe) was about the additional



*Charles Phelps Taft, younger son of President William Howard Taft, is a prominent Cincinnati, Ohio, lawyer whose life has been devoted to public service and to numerous religious and civic causes.*

income tax "... by which those who earn money as distinguished from those who draw an income from passive investments, pay 8 per cent on all over \$6000 which they earn by the sweat of their brow. It is an outrageous provision. I don't mind paying a large income tax—perhaps the larger the better—but I do think there ought not to be such a discrimination as this." Congratulating the young lieutenant on the birth of his first child, he wrote on September 17, 1918: "The little girl beat you to your birthday, so that you are a graduate of Yale, a commissioned officer and a father before you are twenty-one. That my boy is going some." On November 6 he wrote about walking seven miles with his brother Horace to visit the baby: "Now I don't claim to be able to distinguish much between small pieces of protoplasm such as babies generally are, but I am bound to say, Charlie, that this little Eleanor seemed to me to be as well developed, as well trained, and as healthy a looking baby as I have seen." Many of the letters written to his youngest son before 1917 are also to be found in the Library's William Howard Taft family papers.

The letters exchanged between Charlie Taft, his wife, and his children provide an insight into a loving, congenial family. Sometimes he dictated a long "Family Letter" with copies going to absent members. Others, short and to the point, but always understanding, required action or response. The children were all encouraged to be self-reliant and to meet responsibility and bereavement with courage. Young Charlie Taft began to draw a smiling face under or by his signature when he was very young. This was used by other members of his family and occasionally by a friend.

In November 1921, after Mr. Taft finished Yale Law School, he joined his brother Robert in the practice of law in Cincinnati, much to the satisfaction of his father who was then Chief Justice of the United States and enjoyed sharing experiences with his sons, though Chief Justice Taft feared that Charlie would load himself down with too many outside activities. They shared a mutual enthusiasm for golf, and reports were frequently exchanged. Charlie became a leader in the Cincinnati Association, "a group of young men bent on ridding the city of its wasteful, machine-ridden government." The City Charter

Committee which resulted in a better government for Cincinnati was one of the remarkably versatile young Taft's chief interests. The major portion of his papers relating to the committee remain in Cincinnati, but there is related material in the Library's recent gift. In 1924 the young men began their fight by proposing an amendment to the city charter providing for a city manager, a small council, and proportional representation. The strictly nonpartisan vote was two and a half to one in favor of the amendment. Taft served as a member of the council 1938-42 and 1948-51. He was mayor of Cincinnati from 1955 to 1957.

By 1936 the 38-year-old Taft was prominent enough to be pictured on the cover of *Time* (August 3) and to be the subject of a feature article; at that time he was an adviser to Alf M. Landon, Republican candidate for President. He was referred to as "an admirable paragon, strapping, soft-voiced, easy-smiling." In 1938 his brother Robert was elected Senator and their law firm was dissolved.

He was first called upon by the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration to serve as a labor mediator. After the beginning of World War II he served in a number of capacities; in all of these positions his quick mind, legal training, and respect for human rights contributed to his success. He was head of welfare and recreation of the Armed Forces in the United States, outside of the camps; this duty extended to the U.S.O. and to trying to provide proper housing for dependents. For years he had advocated better low-income housing, even financing such a development in Cincinnati with his own funds. In 1944 he was director of wartime economic affairs in the Department of State; he successfully represented the department in congressional hearings on the renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements. In 1945 he was the director, Office of Transport and Communications Policy. In 1946 he received the following citation, probably unofficial, from the Office of the Administrator, Federal Security Agency:

To Charlie Phelps Taft—for high courage beyond the demand of duty; a Republican lamb who played with the Democratic lions without being fleeced; the son of a great man whose good works refute the saying that "Sons of great men oft remind us, we should depart with none behind us."

He was a churchman, who scorned not to tackle vice with the same buoyancy as the vice versa. He broke through the hard crust of bureaucracy—though not into the dough; he crashed the gates of the mighty; in the kindest fashion he violated prescribed channels, by-passed gobbledygook and with the utmost innocence avoided official clearances. He once undertook, but sad to relate without conspicuous success, the hazardous task of reforming the bad boy of Hell's Kitchen. But by contrast ere the sun had gone down, he had prevailed upon the Judge from Georgia to alter the official record. For all this we salute him.

Hail to the breadth of your shoulders and the width of your smile—that famous “Charlie’s smile” which is expansive without being expensive and as beneficent as it is often beneficial. It is both a mark of good will and a badge of courage. When Charlie leaves, his smile—like that of the Cheshire Cat—lingers long in our Wonderland and longer still in our hearts.

To you, Charlie Taft, blithe spirit—but far from disembodied—we bestow the citation of our affection, our gratitude, and our blessing.

DONE IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

This seventeenth day of September  
in the year nineteen hundred forty six

Various subject and correspondence files and a number of diaries document the period of his government service.

Although there is a file labeled “National Politics 1936-60 Landon to Nixon,” Mr. Taft’s chief concern has been local politics and his church and civic duties. In 1940 his Uncle Horace Taft wrote: “I am not anxious to have you in national politics because I think you could do so much more good as a leader in the reform of city government all over the country, and in preaching independence of national politics in local affairs.”

Mr. and Mrs. Taft joined the Christ Episcopal Church when they moved to Cincinnati, and he taught a Sunday School class there for 15 years. His interest in the Y.M.C.A. has been lifelong; he has been an officer in both the national and international organizations. He is said to have been the first layman to serve as president of the Federal Council of Churches. He was also chairman of the National Study Conference on the Church and Economic Life. In addition to using his time and keen mind for many causes, he has been extremely successful as a fundraiser.

Like his father, Mr. Taft sometimes lectures to supplement his income; most of his speeches, however, are made without charge for causes

he believes in. He is reputed to write all of his gracious, “warm-souled” speeches, and his humor, versatility, and generosity are reflected in a speech file dating from 1925 to 1966. Many of them are published in *Vital Speeches*. His interests are as numerous as the organizations he has served, but a sampling of speech titles will reveal a few of them: “The Spiritual Foundations of International Economic Affairs,” “The Merit System in Public Affairs,” and “The Conservation of Natural Resources.” In a Mother’s Day address (May 13, 1951) he spoke of putting moral foundations back into government and of the role of women: “. . . women insist that politics is just community housekeeping and that it has to have integrity and moral foundations as much as any other part of life.”

Mr. Taft feels that we have a “moral responsibility to the survival of hungry people” and has undertaken to raise funds on numerous occasions for disaster-stricken areas. It has been said that even to read a list of organizations with which he has been associated would be overwhelming. Among the more recent interests is the Citizens Committee for an Effective Congress.

Mr. Taft is a spontaneous letter writer, sometimes sending only a few lines written with deep feeling after reading an obituary. The occasion may be to congratulate someone on a promotion or on an article or book that commands his respect—or his disagreement. Most of the letters he received were addressed to “Dear Charlie”; that is the salutation used by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1943.

A sampling from one file drawer reveals letters from Mrs. Roosevelt, Harold H. Burton, Frank Lausche, A. Willis Robertson, Anna Rosenberg, Potter Stewart, John Farrar, I. M. Pei, and Dwight Eisenhower.

In addition to an enormous number of published articles and letters to editors, Mr. Taft is the author of *City Management: The Cincinnati Experiment* (1933); *You and I and Roosevelt* (1936); *Why I Am for the Church* (1947); and *Democracy in Politics and Economics* (1950).

The addition of the Charles P. Taft papers brings to more than one and a quarter million the number of items of Taft family manuscripts in the Manuscript Division. It is a family archive

as notable for its quality as its members have been in service to the nation for four generations.

### *Cultural History*

#### **Margaret Webster Papers**

Margaret Webster died in London on November 13, 1972. Less than three months earlier the present chief of the Manuscript Division had visited Miss Webster in her London apartment, where, although she was uncomfortable from recent surgery, they had spent more than an hour discussing her theatrical and literary plans and arrangements for additional Webster papers for the Library. This was the latest and, regrettably, the last in a series of their meetings and visits over several years. The association of Margaret Webster and the Library of Congress had been, in fact, one of mutual admiration ever since 1951, when she had presented a program of readings from Shakespeare, initiating the second season of the Gertrude Clarke Whittall Poetry and Literature Series. She returned to the stage of the Library's Coolidge Auditorium in 1964 in "No Coward Soul," a dramatic program based on the Brontë family. Following that visit to the Library, she tentatively decided to place her papers among its manuscript collections. This decision was reaffirmed in a conference in London in the spring of 1967, and the first group of papers arrived later that year.<sup>4</sup> Miss Webster provided that her surviving papers would come to the Library following her death, and the realization of her intentions was completed in 1974.

In her initial conversations on her papers with officers of the Library, Miss Webster, with genuine modesty, professed to be a "tiny figure" in the American theater. Students of 20th-century theatrical history and even the ordinary theater-goer know better. Margaret Webster registered a series of achievements difficult to parallel. She also seated herself firmly and with confidence in traditionally all-male territory, the director's chair. By the 1930's she was a highly successful director and producer in London and New York, and beginning in 1950 she became the pioneer woman director of the Metropolitan Opera. In the late 1950's she also directed productions of the New York City Opera Company. Throughout her career she has been especially

known for her memorable Shakespearean productions, the professional secrets of which she sought to convey in *Shakespeare Without Tears* (1942), which Mark Van Doren called "one of the best books written about Shakespeare in this century."

Although from a distinguished British theatrical family, Margaret Webster was actually born in New York City on March 15, 1905, where her father, the renowned Shakespearean Ben Webster, was appearing on Broadway. Her mother, May Whitty, was a notable actress in the legitimate theater who is best remembered, ironically, for a motion picture career which blossomed at an age when most actresses have retired. Miss Webster left the United States in 1908, not to return until 1937, when Maurice Evans asked her to stage his *Richard II* on Broadway. In the meantime, she had begun her own career in England first as an actress, but soon as a director as well.

In the last decade of her life Margaret Webster conducted extensive research into theatrical history, and especially into that of her own family. (Her great-grandfather Benjamin N. Webster, "Old Ben," was one of London's leading actor managers of the early 19th century.) She published the results in *The Same, Only Different* (1969), which carried the story up to 1937, the year of her "return" to the United States. Its sequel, *Don't Put Your Daughter on the Stage* (1972), appeared only weeks before its author's death.

The Margaret Webster papers are not as full for all phases of her career as one would wish. The explanation resides in the nomadic, peripatetic life common to the theater and especially so for an international figure like Margaret Webster. (She remarked once that her most treasured papers had crossed the Atlantic at least five times.) Nevertheless, the scholar will find important documentation in the papers, which were undoubtedly made richer by her own researches and collecting of material for her two family histories. The most notable material is undoubtedly the series of some 50 promptbooks for productions directed by Miss Webster, each containing holograph notes on the text, lighting cues, stage directions, drawings of stage settings, and other evidences of the director's control of the production. Since particular theatrical productions are usually as evanescent as the memories

of their participants and observers, the promptbooks permit reconstruction of some notable theatrical events to an extent that is far from customary. Most of the promptbooks were received in the 1967 acquisition and have already been the subject of study. Additional promptbooks arrived in 1974.

Other items of interest include a holograph diary of Dame May Whitty, irregularly maintained from 1885 to 1936; more than 100 letters exchanged by Ben Webster and May Whitty, as well as autobiographical reminiscences which they dictated in 1937; and manuscripts and research material for several books and original productions, such as the Brontë program.

Special interest will reside in the long series of letters from Margaret Webster to her parents beginning with childhood messages and continuing into her adult life. Most of the letters are to her mother, who was addressed as "Mamie" from the beginning. One of the earliest is a poignant and plaintive note, written when Peggy Webster was six or seven years old:

Mamie I will learn French as hard as  
ever I can if you don't tease me any more.  
With best love from—.

The letters continue through school days, especially at Queen Anne's School, recording school triumphs, such as securing the role of Portia in a school production of *The Merchant of Venice*, and disappointments. Many of the letters carry annotations reflecting the study they received as their author prepared her family histories. They will be invaluable for biography, as they have been for autobiography.

### Roy P. Basler Papers

Roy P. Basler, eighth chief of the Manuscript Division in its 78-year history, retired on December 31, 1974, after a distinguished career of 22 years in the Library of Congress, during the last six of which he was chief of the Manuscript Division. He left behind memories of a balanced mixture of the administrator and scholar, of concern for the role of the arts in government, and of a zest for outdoor activity and indoor society. He also left behind a substantial deposit of personal and professional papers.

The Basler papers record most phases of a professional career which led to distinction in the

academic community, in historical editing, in literary criticism, and in the Library of Congress. During the 1930's and 1940's, following receipt of a Ph. D. degree at Duke University, Basler was professor of English at several southern colleges and universities, often serving as head of the department. This phase of his career is documented chiefly by manuscripts of his articles and some professional correspondence. In 1947 he became executive secretary and editor in chief of the Abraham Lincoln Association, Springfield, Ill. For five years he edited Lincoln's writings, published in eight volumes (1953) as *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*. (A one-volume *Supplement* to the *Works* appeared in 1974.) There is one file of correspondence 1947-52 pertaining to the editing of the *Works* and an extensive series of files documenting compilation of the *Supplement*, including numerous photocopies of Lincoln letters from repositories other than the Library of Congress. Related material includes the author's manuscript of *A Short History of the Civil War* (1967) and correspondence relating to the preparation of *Lincoln: His Speeches and Writings* (1946).

In addition to being the cause of poetry in other men and women, Roy Basler has written poetry himself most of his adult life. Manuscripts of many of these poems, some dating back to the early 1930's, are in the Basler papers. Also present are manuscripts of his studies of modern American poets, such as Carl Sandburg, Robert Frost, Lee Anderson, and M. B. Tolson. A number of these essays were gathered in *The Muse and the Librarian* (1974), which is represented by the manuscript.

The student of the Library of Congress and its administrative and cultural history will find in the Basler papers a considerable amount of material, including diaries covering the period 1954-74. Basler also maintained his own file on the Gertrude Clarke Whittall Poetry and Literature series, which he supervised and fostered during his Library career. Subject files existed for other Library projects, such as preparation of the bibliographical *Guide to the Study of the United States of America*. There are also subject files documenting Basler's participation in professional associations and Washington's Cosmos Club, in which he was a longtime member of the Library Committee.

Among the personal correspondence, the greatest interest will be attached to exchanges with American poets. These include many of the distinguished men and women who occupied the position of consultant in poetry at the Library of Congress over the past 20 years and other poet friends, such as Lee Anderson, Merrill Moore, and Oscar Williams. On December 9, 1974, the Library commemorated Basler's service with a special program of readings by three former consultants in poetry, Richard Eberhart, Josephine Jacobsen, and Reed Whittemore, and by Arnold Moss. The announcement of his retirement and the invitation to the program of readings brought letters of commendation from many well-wishers. A file of such letters in the Basler papers indicates the widespread recognition of his career and service. In one of these Justice William O. Douglas wrote as follows:

Mrs. Douglas and I had intended to be present this evening for the reading of poetry in your honor at the Library of Congress at 8 o'clock. We had looked forward eagerly to the occasion but illness prevents us from coming. I do not want the occasion to pass, however, without your knowing what a great contribution you have made to public service in this country.

You can be justly proud of the stimulating career you have followed both during your tour at the Library of Congress and previously in your work at the Abraham Lincoln Association in Illinois, and in your stimulating literary contributions.

We wish the best for you in every possible way in the years ahead.

An individual's personal papers are of greater or less interest, depending on the permanency of his achievements and the significance of his personal and professional relationships. On both counts the Basler papers will repay study by those interested in Abraham Lincoln, 20th-century literature, and the administrative history of the Library of Congress.

### *Scientific History*

A considerable spectrum of manuscripts to interest the historian of science was acquired by the Library in 1974. The remaining portion of the John William Draper family papers, including Draper's scientific correspondence, was received last year. The 1974 Draper gift is discussed above in the section of political, military, diplo-

matic, and social history, because of certain materials pertinent to Draper's *History of the American Civil War*.

### *John von Neumann Papers\**

When Dwight D. Eisenhower named John von Neumann to the Atomic Energy Commission in 1954, an editorial in the *Washington Post* (October 26) hailed the choice:

The President has chosen for the vacancy . . . a man of dazzling scientific brilliance and of great intellectual fertility . . . von Neumann ranks unquestionably among the half dozen leading theoretical mathematicians in the world today. He has done important work in quantum mechanics and played a most constructive part in the development of both the atomic bomb and the hydrogen bomb. The extraordinary inventiveness of his mind has led him to the development of high-speed electronic calculating devices of amazing ingenuity and adaptability which contributed significantly to the solution of atomic energy problems.

Such a favorable estimate of von Neumann's capabilities and accomplishments was not unwarranted, although—except to students of 20th-century science—his name is not as well known as those of some of his friends and colleagues, such as Albert Einstein, J. Robert Oppenheimer, and Enrico Fermi.

John von Neumann was born in Budapest in 1903. From the age of 13 he was interested in mathematics, and his father influenced him toward a career in science. Von Neumann's first scholarly paper, written jointly with M. Fekete, was published when he was 19. After attending the University of Berlin and the Federal Institute of Technology, Zurich, he received a Ph.D. from the University of Budapest in 1926 at the age of 22. He taught at the universities of Berlin and Hamburg, and in 1930, with 32 publications and a considerable reputation in quantum mechanics and operator theory to his credit, young von Neumann began three years as visiting lecturer and professor at Princeton University. He joined the Institute for Advanced Study as professor of mathematics in 1933 and remained at that position almost until his death, after a long illness, in 1957.

During his tenure at the institute, which spanned the Einstein years, von Neumann became involved in the development of the first atomic bomb. His papers indicate that he first

met J. Robert Oppenheimer in 1926, and in 1943 Oppenheimer invited him to join the Los Alamos group. During the war von Neumann spent a considerable portion of each year in New Mexico and retained his connection with the Los Alamos laboratory until 1955. Although usually keeping clear of the political arena, von Neumann testified in behalf of his friend and colleague during Oppenheimer's controversial security hearings. Despite their difference over acceleration of the government's thermonuclear program, von Neumann defended Oppenheimer's loyalty and, expressing a concern for individual rights, suggested proper judicial procedures for security cases.

The giant computer that von Neumann developed at the Institute for Advanced Study enabled the United States to build and test its first full model of a hydrogen bomb in 1952. He was recipient of the President's Medal for Merit in 1956 and in the same year was presented with the first Enrico Fermi Award (after the original award given to Fermi himself in 1954), for "outstanding contributions both to the theory and to the design of fast computing machines, indispensable tools of research and development in many phases of atomic energy and its applications."

Despite these later efforts, von Neumann's papers show that near the end of his life he considered his most essential work to have been done between 1927 and 1939 in quantum physics, operator theory, and on the ergodic theorem.<sup>6</sup> He worked for many years on the theory of games and was the principal architect of a new area of mathematics dealing with economic behavior, social organization, and war. These latter activities were based on game theory, and in a summary of von Neumann's scientific work published after his death, Goldstone and Wigner praised his *Theory of Games and Economic Behavior* (1944; written with O. Morgenstern) as affecting decisively the entire subject of operations research. "Indeed, it may well be said that the present day importance of the subject results from the influence of this monumental work."

The same writers suggested (*Science*, April 1957, pp. 683-84) that von Neumann's efforts in this direction are one of the major scientific contributions of the first half of the 20th century. From his earliest mathematical work of significance (in the field of mathematical logic, dealing with axiomatics of set theory and Hilbert's

proof theory) to his last efforts in the development of computers, von Neumann's scientific genius was constantly apparent.

His papers (ca. 8,000 items), donated to the Library by his daughter, Marina von Neumann Whitman, chiefly document his residence in America; there are very few materials earlier than 1933. There is much correspondence, a good amount of it with important contemporaries, including George Gamow, P.A.M. Dirac, Oswald Veblen, Vannevar Bush, Enrico Fermi, J. Robert Oppenheimer, Edward Teller, and Lewis Strauss. Fortunately von Neumann kept carbon copies of his own outgoing letters, which account for almost half of the total volume of correspondence. Considering von Neumann's close association with Einstein, few documents remain, but those in the collection are of some interest, such as a 1937 holograph in which Einstein discusses the men he thought had made the greatest achievements in recent theoretical physics (Dirac, Heisenberg, Schrödinger, Pauli, and Fermi). Much of von Neumann's correspondence concerns his mathematical research, but there are ample materials in subject files to illustrate nearly all of the wide spectrum of activities in which he engaged. There is a considerable amount of family correspondence as well, which provides much biographical data for the American years.

Von Neumann wrote several books and well over a hundred scientific papers in almost four decades, and a great many of these are represented in his papers in the form of notes, holograph drafts, or typescripts. For example, there is almost a foot of production materials for the *Theory of Games*. There are also drafts of unfinished publications and a miscellany of mathematical calculations. The subject files contain diverse materials other than correspondence; there are nearprint reports, photographs, citations and awards, financial papers, biographical and bibliographical data, and a miscellany of printed materials including a number of separata of von Neumann's published papers.

The John von Neumann papers will complement the Library's manuscript collections of such associates of his as Oppenheimer, Gamow, and Veblen, and join an increasing number of collections of other scientists who served the federal government in various aspects of wartime research, such as Vannevar Bush and Merle Tuve.

When organized for reader use, the von Neumann papers will be made available in the Manuscript Reading Room, with the exception of a small portion of the collection which is restricted until the year 2007.

### *Archives and Records*

#### **Leadership Conference on Civil Rights**

The substantial holdings of the Library for study of the 20th-century civil rights movement have been augmented by the gift of the archives of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights by its National Board.

The Leadership Conference was first envisioned by Roy Wilkins and A. Philip Randolph as a further means of ensuring fuller participation in U.S. society by Afro-Americans when critical manpower shortages during World War II afforded them unprecedented opportunities in all sectors of American life. Both Wilkins and Randolph were even then seasoned advocates of civil rights—Wilkins having served in various lesser capacities before becoming executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1955, and Randolph as the organizer in 1925 and only president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The two men realized that larger numbers of people, unified, would have significantly greater impact on both the national government and public opinion.

The nucleus of the Leadership Conference, established in 1949, was the membership of the National Council for a Permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission and the ad hoc National Emergency Civil Rights Mobilization. Wilkins, Randolph, and Arnold Aronson have served as chairman, honorary chairman, and secretary of the Leadership Conference, respectively, since its inception.

Under their leadership the organization has developed, as of January 1975, into a coalition of more than 135 "national civil rights, religious, labor, civic, professional and fraternal organizations united in an effort to bring about Federal legislative and executive action to assure full equality for all Americans." To participate, a group must subscribe to the principles and commitments implied in the statement of purpose

above, must be national in scope, must have an active civil rights program, and must not be a political organization.

The total membership embraces Americans of different ethnic, religious, and political persuasions as well as from all socioeconomic strata. A sampling includes Actors Equity, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, American Civil Liberties Union, AFL-CIO, American Federation of Teachers, A. Philip Randolph Institute, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Hebrew Trades, Japanese American Citizens League, Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, League of Women Voters, National Association of College Women, National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc., National Association of Social Workers, National Baptist Convention, National Boards of the YMCA and YWCA, National Council of Churches, National Council of Negro Women, National Farmers Union, National Organization for Mexican-American Services, National Organization for Women, National Sharecroppers Fund, Retail Clerks International Association, U.S. Catholic Conference, U.S. National Student Association, Washington Research Project, and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

A designated representative of each of the member organizations serves on the National Board, the highest governing body of the conference. It convenes annually. During the ensuing intervals the policymaking functions of the conference are carried on by a 15-member executive committee appointed by the chairman, with officers of the conference and committee chairmen serving as ex officio members of the executive committee. Operational expenses are shared jointly by the member organizations.

Handicapped initially by having neither budget nor office, the conference left its records largely in the custody of its officials at the time. Therefore the approximately 24,000 items at present in these archives date from 1963, when a national office was established in Washington, D.C.

The Leadership Conference is both flexible and far reaching in its day-to-day operations. Two constant goals are the enactment and enforcement of civil rights legislation on the national level. However, consensus of all the member organizations is a prerequisite for any action taken

in the name of the conference. Then the lobbying power of each of the constituent organizations as well as that of the larger body is brought into play. Various kinds of communications, including memoranda on actions pending in the White House or on Capitol Hill, "Call to Action" and "Keeping in Touch" transmittals, detailed analyses of proposed legislation, and suggestions for communications by individual constituents to the President, Members of Congress, and heads of government agencies are distributed by the national office not only to member groups but also to a mailing list of more than 5,000 people.

Also included in this collection are press releases and proposed legislation, the latter usually sent to members of Congress. Likewise available are the proceedings of the "watchdog" Enforcement Committee, which is divided into task forces to implement more effective enforcement of civil rights laws. Moreover, the records reflect another noteworthy conference technique: the use of a file of sympathetic and influential individuals in almost every congressional district who have direct contact with their elected officials.

The conference claims credit for the organization and coordination of the campaigns for all federal civil rights laws enacted and executive orders issued between 1950 and 1970. The array of its correspondents alone lends some credence to this assertion. The files contain communications from Presidents John F. Kennedy, Lyndon

B. Johnson, and Richard M. Nixon; New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller; Attorney-General Robert F. Kennedy; Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr.; Senators George McGovern, Hubert H. Humphrey, and Fred Harris; Representatives Gerald R. Ford, Shirley Chisholm, and Yvonne Brathwaite; Federal Reserve Board Governor Andrew J. Brimmer; Ambassador Patricia Roberts Harris; Assistant Secretary of Labor Esther Peterson; C. Delores Tucker, Secretary of State for Pennsylvania; George Brown, now Lieutenant Governor of Colorado; Mrs. Malcolm Peabody; Georgia Legislator Julian Bond; the Reverend Leon M. Sullivan; and heads of many government agencies.

The conference's sustained and successful efforts to get passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the Fair Housing Act of 1968 are documented. Its failure so far to get the Congress to pass an anti-filibuster law, such legislation having been introduced at the beginning of every session of Congress in recent years, is in the record as well. Other evidence which shows how this organization maintains a network of communication which enables it to serve as an effective link between the highest echelons of government and the grassroots citizenry may be found in other correspondence, speeches of notable personages, financial records, newspaper clippings, and other duplicated or printed matter. Additions will be made to these materials from time to time.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See letter of James Forbes to the secretary of state, in Clarence Edwin Carter, comp., *Territorial Papers of the United States*, vol. 22, *Florida Territory, 1821-1824* (Washington: U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1956), p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> For further information on these collections, see William S. Coker and Jack D. L. Holmes, "Sources for the History of the Spanish Borderlands," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 49 (April 1971):388; *Latin American Research Review* 7, no. 2 (1972):43.

<sup>3</sup> "The late Surveyor General Don Vincente Sebastian Pintado has retained in his possession the records of

his proceedings; and individual claimants are subjected to the payment of enormous sums for copies. . . ." Ware Overton to the secretary of state, 1822; quoted in Carter, *Territorial Papers*, vol. 22, p. 516.

<sup>4</sup> In this report and in the list that follows, an asterisk indicates restriction on access to the collection. Information concerning access may be sought through the chief, Manuscript Division.

<sup>5</sup> John von Neumann, undated biographical sketch [1954], prepared for the National Academy of Sciences. John von Neumann papers.

# Manuscript Division

## Acquisitions, 1974

Listed below are the principal manuscript acquisitions of the Library of Congress that were added to the holdings of the Manuscript Division during 1974. Manuscripts in the fields of law, music, maps, and Orientalia, books in manuscript, and reproductions of manuscripts not of specific interest for U.S. history are described in other reports in the *Quarterly Journal*.

The arrangement is alphabetical by collection title within the following classified scheme.

- I. Presidential Papers
- II. Personal Papers
  - A. Diplomatic, Military, Political, and Social History
    - 1. Colonial, Revolutionary, and National Period (to 1860)
    - 2. Civil War and Reconstruction (to 1900)
    - 3. 20th Century
  - B. Cultural History
  - C. Scientific History
- III. Collections
- IV. Archives and Records
- V. Reproductions
  - A. Domestic
  - B. Foreign

Gifts and purchases of a small number of items for addition to existing collections are not always included in the list of acquisitions. Among the benefactors who, by gift or deposit of such material, have strengthened the national manuscript collections are the following:

Mrs. Courtney Adams, New York, N.Y.; Jan Baumgardt, Krakow, Poland; Robert M. Bruker,

Edwardsville, Ill.; Richard Eberhart, Hanover, N.H.; Mrs. Clifford J. Eppert, Saginaw, Mich.; George Gallup, Princeton, N.J.; Mrs. J. A. Hillman, Philadelphia, Pa.; Mary La Follette, Washington, D.C.; George E. London, Raleigh, N.C.; Mrs. Henry R. Luce, Honolulu, Hawaii; August Meier, Kent, Ohio; Mrs. Merrill Moore, Squantum, Mass.; National Society of Arts and Letters, Honolulu, Hawaii; Mrs. Kate Nebel, Washington, D.C.; Margaret Porter, Palisades, N.Y.; Thomas Reeves, Kenosha, Wis.; Mrs. C. G. Roberts, Falls Church, Va.; Dr. Edward F. and Mrs. Elizabeth Goodman Rosenberg, Chicago, Ill.; Solita Solano, Orgeval, France; Mrs. Walter Stokes, St. Davids, Pa.; Lewis H. Strauss, Washington, D.C.; Richard P. Thomsen, Alexandria, Va.; Virginia State Library, Richmond, Va.

A key to the symbols used follows:

- A Addition
- ADS Autograph document signed
- ADfS Autograph draft signed
- ALS Autograph letter signed
- ANS Autograph note signed
- D Deposit
- G Gift
- Ms Manuscript
- LS Letter signed
- N New
- NARS National Archives and Records Service
- P Purchase
- T Transfer
- TLS Typed letter signed
- TMs Typed manuscript
- \* See note 4, page 197.

<i>Collection title</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Category</i>	<i>Approximate number of items</i>
<b>I. Presidential Papers</b>			
Arthur, Chester Alan 6 ALS, 1876, 1883, to Charles Miller	Carryback Books Franconia, N.H.	P A	6
Cleveland, Grover ALS, n.d., to Mr. Allen et al. ALS, 1894, 1903, to L. Clarke Davis ALS, 1905, to John K. Finley	Mrs. Noel Sokoloff Hanover, N.H. Kenneth W. Rendell Newton, Mass. Charles Hamilton New York, N.Y.	G/P A	4
Garfield, James A. ALS, 1864, to A. M. Pratt	Joseph Rubinfine Pleasantville, N.J.	P A	1
Grant, Ulysses Simpson ALS, 1882, to George F. Edmunds	Robert F. Batchelder Ambler, Pa.	P A	2
Jefferson, Thomas ALS, 1793, to Alexander Hamilton Photocopies of other letters	Kenneth W. Rendell Newton, Mass. Cmdr. William E. Clark Fairfax, Va. Carl Boardman Cobb Cleveland, Ohio	G/P A	7
Lincoln, Abraham ALS, 1860 Photocopies of other items	Mrs. James S. Candee La Jolla, Calif. NARS Washington, D.C. Raymond F. McNally, Jr. St. Louis, Mo.	G/T A	3
Monroe, James ALS, 1807, to Lord Thomas Erskine	Kenneth W. Rendell Newton, Mass.	P A	1
Polk, James K. ALS, 1841, to Col. Samuel H. Laughlin See also Dawson, Moses	Sotheby-Parke Bernet New York, N.Y.	P A	1
Van Buren, Martin ALS, 1836, to J. F. H. Claiborne Letters, 1820-26 (transcripts)	Kenneth W. Rendell, Newton, Mass. Ralph E. Becker Washington, D.C.	P/G A	21
Washington, George ALS, n.y., to [ ] ALS, 1798, to Eliza Powel (photograph)	Mrs. Solomon C. Meyer Detroit, Mich. Pierpont Morgan Library New York, N.Y.	P/G A	2
Wilson, Woodrow See also below, s.v. Archives and Records	Charles Hamilton New York, N.Y. Richard D. Drain Washington, D.C.	P/G A	54

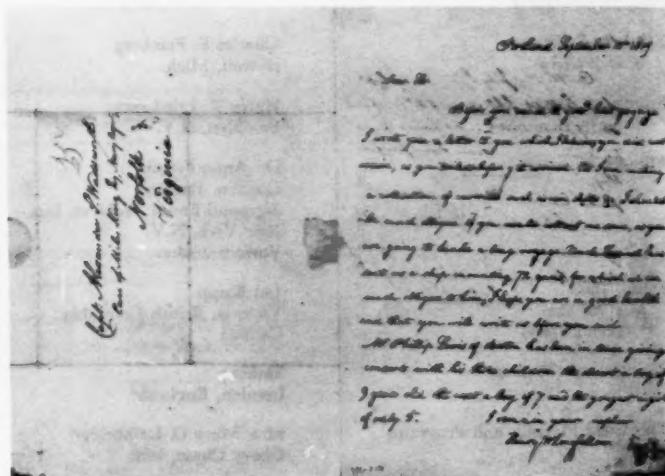
<i>Collection title</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Category</i>	<i>Approximate number of items</i>
<b>II. Personal Papers</b>			
<b>A. Diplomatic, Political, Military, Social History</b>			
<b>1. Colonial, Revolutionary, National Period (to 1860)</b>			
Barney, Joshua	Mrs. Charles W. Engelhard, Jr. Far Hills, N.J.	G A	3
Beale family	The Honorable Philip W. Bonsal Washington, D.C.	G A	13
Dawson, Moses	Lobo Book Shop Dallas, Tex.	P N	46
Doddridge, Philip	Orville Shoaf Dumfermline, Ill.	G N	50
Langdon, William Chauncy	Albert Mack Plattsburgh, N.Y.	P N	600
Meehan, John Silva	Mrs. W. H. H. Skerrett Wayne, Pa.	G A	50
Pintado, Vicente Sebastian	Mrs. Robert M. Adams Duluth, Minn.	G N	1,500
Rodgers family	Mrs. Simon Tulchin Washington, D.C. Miss Louisa R. Alger Cambridge, Mass.	G A	435
<b>2. Civil War and Reconstruction (to 1900)</b>			
Anglin, John S.	Mrs. Louise Haskins Chevy Chase, Md.	G N	17
Breckinridge family	Ms. Charlotte E. Abbott Grand Island, Neb. Ms. Rachel B. Marks Chicago, Ill.	G A	300
Fish, Hamilton	Hamilton Fish New York, N.Y.	G A	400
Howard-von Recum family	Franz von Recum Hampton Bays, N.Y.	G A	14,000
New York Central Railroad	Kenneth W. Rendell Newton, Mass.	G N	100
Smith, James Power	Dr. Lewis B. Schenck Betty M. Schenck Davidson, N.C.	G N	21

<i>Collection title</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Category</i>	<i>Approximate number of items</i>
<b>II. Personal Papers—Continued</b>			
<b>A. Diplomatic, Political, Military, Social History—Continued</b>			
<b>3. 20th Century</b>			
*Anderson, Clinton P.	The Honorable Clinton P. Anderson Albuquerque, N.M.	G A	52
*Bernays, Edward L.	Edward L. Bernays Cambridge, Mass.	D A	1,400
*Black, Hugo L.	Mrs. Hugo L. Black Arlington, Va.	G A	11,000
	Hollis Black Los Angeles, Calif.	G A	500
Bohlen, Charles E.	Mrs. Charles E. Bohlen Washington, D.C.	D N	1,850
Bonsal, Stephen	The Honorable Philip Bonsal Washington, D.C.	G A	2,000
Bowen, Catherine Drinker	Ezra D. Bowen Haverford, Pa.	G A	25,000
*Brennan, William J.	Mr. Justice Brennan Washington, D.C.	G A	44,000
Burnett, Charles	Capt. and Mrs. A. S. C. Wadsworth Bethesda, Md.	G N	500
Cline, Howard F.	Mrs. Howard F. Cline Arlington, Va.	G A	36,500
Daniels, Josephus	Dr. Worth B. Daniels Washington, D.C.	G A	150
Davis, Roy Tasco	Roy T. Davis Chevy Chase, Md.	G N	600
Doolittle, James H.	Lt. Gen. James H. Doolittle Los Angeles, Calif.	G N	33,000
Feis, Herbert	Mrs. Arline V. B. Pratt Alexandria, Va.	G A	90
*Gertz, Elmer	Elmer Gertz Chicago, Ill.	D A	23,000
Gilchrist, Huntington	Huntington Gilchrist Ridgefield, Conn.	D N	18,000
Hamilton, John D. M.	Estate of J. D. M. Hamilton Clearwater, Fla.	B N	7,000
Hamlin, Charles S.	Federal Reserve Board Washington, D.C.	T A	2,000

<i>Collection title</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Category</i>	<i>Approximate number of items</i>
<b>II. Personal Papers—Continued</b>			
<b>A. Diplomatic, Political, Military, Social History—Continued</b>			
<b>3. 20th Century—Continued</b>			
Hasse, Adelaide	George H. Fielding Alexandria, Va.	G N	600
Hines, Lewis Graham	Mrs. Marion Krueger Annandale, Va.	G A	13, 000
Jessup, Philip C.	The Honorable Philip C. Jessup Norfolk, Conn.	G A	100
Knox, Katharine McCook	Mrs. Katharine McCook Knox Washington, D.C.	G A	135
*Landis, James M.	Mrs. Ann L. McLaughlin Chevy Chase, Md.	G A	20
*Longworth, Alice Roosevelt	Joanna Sturm Washington, D.C.	G N	300
*Longworth, Nicholas	Joanna Sturm	G N	2, 700
*Louchheim, Katie S.	Mrs. Walter Louchheim, Jr. Washington, D.C.	G A	11, 000
*Meyer, Eugene	The Meyer family Mt. Kisco, N.Y. Washington, D.C.	D N	58, 000
Rickenbacker, Edward V.	Estate of Edward V. Rickenbacker New York, N.Y.	G A	6, 500
Taft, Charles P.	Charles P. Taft Cincinnati, Ohio	G N	145, 000
*Warren, Earl	Estate of Chief Justice Warren Washington, D.C.	B N	190, 000
<b>B. Cultural History</b>			
Allen, Frederick Lewis	Oliver Allen Pelham, N.Y.	G A	200
Basler, Roy P.	Roy P. Basler Sarasota, Fla.	D N	11, 500
Gruenberg, Benjamin C. and Sidonie M.	Dr. Ernest M. Gruenberg Poughkeepsie, N.Y.	G A	2, 500
Hoxie, Vinnie Ream	Robert A. McCown Iowa City, Iowa	G A	15

<i>Collection title</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Category</i>	<i>Approximate number of items</i>
<b>II. Personal Papers—Continued</b>			
<b>B. Cultural History—Continued</b>			
Huebsch, Benjamin W.	Steve Smolian Catskill, N.Y.	G A	30
Lee, Rowland V.	Rowland V. Lee Palm Desert, Calif.	G N	1,200
Moss, Arnold	Arnold Moss New York, N.Y.	G A	100
Niebuhr, Reinhold <i>Letters to William Scarlett</i>	Mrs. Harold Bassage Greenwich, Conn.	G A	400
*Southworth, E.D.E.N.	Mrs. Gladys Goud Plainview, N.Y.	G A	320
Traubel, Horace and Anne M.	Charles E. Feinberg Detroit, Mich. Miss Gertrude Traubel Philadelphia, Pa.	G A	60
Vonnegut, Kurt, Jr.	Kurt Vonnegut, Jr. New York, N.Y.	D A	230
Webster, Margaret	Estate of Margaret Webster New York, N.Y. Waltham, Mass.	G A	1,200
West, Mae <i>Playscripts</i>	Copyright Office LC	T N	6
Wheelock, John Hall	John Hall Wheelock New York, N.Y.	D A	13

One of two Henry Wadsworth Longfellow letters, presented by Lillian Wadsworth, Bethesda, Md. This letter, written when Longfellow was 12 years old, reveals a youthful interest in the collection of "curiosities" that a seafaring uncle, Capt. Alexander S. Wadsworth (1790-1851), might be expected to encounter. Only two earlier Longfellow letters, of 1814 and 1815, are known to exist.



<i>Collection title</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Category</i>	<i>Approximate number of items</i>
<b>II. Personal Papers—Continued</b>			
<b>C. Scientific History</b>			
Abraham, Karl	Dr. Anna Freud Grant Allen London, England	G A	250
Adler, Alfred	Dr. Alexandra Adler Dr. Kurt Adler New York, N.Y.	G A	78
Ames, Louise Bates-Frances Ilg	Dr. Louise B. Ames New Haven, Conn.	G A	550
Clark, Kenneth Bancroft	Miss Jeannette Hopkins New York, N.Y.	G A	38
Draper, John William, family	Daniel C. Draper New York, N.Y.	G/D A	4,000
Eastham, Melville	Mrs. Melville Eastham Cambridge, Mass.	G N	6,250
Eckart, Carl	Estate of Dr. Carl Eckart Pittsburgh, Pa.	G N	13,500
Flexner, Abraham	Estate of Abraham Flexner Falls Church, Va.	G A	500
Rubey, William Warren	Mrs. William W. Rubey Pacific Palisades, Calif.	G N	35,000
*Von Neumann, John	Dr. Marina v.N. Whitman Pittsburgh, Pa.	G N	8,000
<b>III. Collections</b>			
Feinberg-Whitman <i>Walt Whitman</i>	Charles E. Feinberg Detroit, Mich.	P A	40
Friedman, Harry T. <i>Latin-American Mss</i>	Harry T. Friedman Brooklyn, N.Y.	G A	150
*Freud, Sigmund	Dr. Anna Freud London, England Sigmund Freud Archives, Inc. New York, N.Y. Various dealers	G/P A	1,000
Kupp, Jan <i>N.A. fur trade</i> (photocopies)	Jan Kupp Victoria, British Columbia Canada		240
Phillipps, Sir Thomas	Sotheby London, England	P A	31
Theatrical Playbills and Programs	Mrs. Mary C. Lethbridge Chevy Chase, Md.	G A	100

<i>Collection title</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Category</i>	<i>Approximate number of items</i>
<b>IV. Archives and Records</b>			
American Chemical Society	ACS Washington, D.C.	G A	6,000
*American Council of Learned Societies <i>DAB files</i>	ACLS New York, N.Y.	G A	15,000
*American Historical Association	AHA Washington, D.C.	G A	4,000
Association of Research Libraries	ARL Washington, D.C.	G N	11,000
*Harper's Magazine	Harper's Magazine New York, N.Y.	G A	21,000
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights	LCCR Washington, D.C.	G N	24,000
Library of Congress <i>Woodrow Wilson letters</i>	LC	T A	9
National Council of Jewish Women, Washington, D.C.	NCJW Washington, D.C.	G N	96,000
National Urban League	NUL Los Angeles, Calif.	G A	500
Proprietors of Locks and Canals on Connecticut River	Holyoke Water Power Co. Holyoke, Mass.	G A	100
Suffragists Oral History Project	Bancroft Library Berkeley, Calif.	G N	2
U.S. Senate-Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities	U.S. Senate Washington, D.C.	T N	455,000

<i>Collection title</i>	<i>Location of originals</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
-------------------------	------------------------------	-----------------

**V. Reproductions****A. Domestic**

Barnes, Christian <i>Letters of Mrs. Barnes</i>	LC	1 reel
Clark, Kenneth Bancroft	Harper & Row New York, N.Y.	1 reel
Evans, John <i>Diary</i>	LC	1 reel
Fleetwood, Christian Abraham	LC	1 reel

<i>Collection title</i>	<i>Location of originals</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
<b>V. Reproductions—Continued</b>		
<b>A. Domestic—Continued</b>		
Force, Peter, collection <i>Vernon-Wager papers</i>	LC	6 reels
Freud, Sigmund <i>Brautbriefe</i>	LC	5 reels
Garfield, James Abram	LC	177 reels
Grant, Ulysses S. <i>Letters to Ford</i>	LC	1 reel
Holten, Samuel	LC	4 reels
Ickes, Harold L. <i>Diaries and Index</i>	LC	12 reels
Las Casas, Bartolomé de <i>Duce dudas; De thesaurus</i>	John Carter Brown Library Providence, R.I.	1 reel
Leland, Waldo G. <i>Guide to Ministère de la Guerre and Archives des Colonies</i>	LC	1 reel
McClellan, George Brinton	LC	82 reels
Roberts, Edmund	LC	3 reels
Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church in Alaska <i>Index to Vital Statistics</i> <i>Stefan Ushin diary</i>	LC	5 reels
Scruggs, William Lindsay	Private ownership USA	1 reel
Smith, Richard <i>Diary, 1775-76</i>	LC	1 reel
<b>B. Foreign</b>		
Dobrée, Pierre Frédéric	Archives municipales Nantes, France	13 reels
France, Marine B2 <i>Dépêches, v. 256-281</i>	Archives nationales Paris, France	3 reels
France, Marine G <i>Files 121-132, 172-283</i>		12 reels
Freud, Sigmund <i>MSS of publications</i>	Dr. Anna Freud London, England	7 reels
Great Britain, Foreign Office 47, <i>Liberian Office, 1848-1905</i>	Public Record Office London, England	19 reels

# Newspapers and the Library of Congress

by S. Branson Marley, Jr.

The year 1974 marked the centenary of the Library of Congress newspaper collection as we know it. True, the Library acquired newspapers before 1874, but not until May of that year was an overall policy adopted for coverage of the American press. Similarly, in 1901 a comprehensive foreign newspaper acquisition program was put into practice.

During the ensuing hundred years the collection has become the most important and the most extensive anywhere.<sup>1</sup> Although it is, understandably, exceptionally strong in U.S. newspapers, it also contains a large number of foreign titles—including issues of some of the oldest titles published in the Western world. Other libraries may have more intensive holdings for specific areas or of special interests, but the Library of Congress has the most comprehensive holdings of domestic newspapers and its foreign holdings may be the most extensive in existence. Its holdings of pre-1801 American newspapers are second only to those of the American Anti-Quarian Society.<sup>2</sup>

Geographically, the collection contains titles from all areas of the globe, representative of most of the independent countries—and many of their significant political and administrative subdivisions—that have existed during the last 350 years; linguistically, it has papers printed in almost all modern languages; and physically, it comprises

about 85,000 bound volumes, 225,000 reels of microfilm, and 750,000 unbound issues representing about 4,500 titles from the United States and 7,400 from foreign countries, including 635 U.S. titles and 1,013 foreign titles received currently. It also includes a separate group containing originals of hundreds of special commemorative and anniversary editions and issues reporting selected major historical events in addition to specialized microfilm assemblages, such as early Negro newspapers.

How such a tremendous research resource developed is the theme of this essay. Before proceeding, however, we need to establish a few qualifications.

First, it should be pointed out that in this article the collection has been treated as an entity, although newspapers are in custody of several organizational units. In addition to the Serial Division, which has the principal collection and which has been essentially the center of all activities, the Orientalia Division maintains a collection of newspapers which consists of publications printed in oriental characters. Furthermore, some titles that by current definition are considered newspapers but have been classified as periodicals in the past are located in the main

---

S. Branson Marley, Jr., is chief of the Serial Division.

stacks, in the Microform Reading Room, and in the Rare Book Division, the last of which also has single issues of newspapers that are a part of special collections in its custody. Current East European papers in Slavic languages are available through the Slavic and Central European Division, but after they are acquired on microfilm they become the responsibility of the Serial Division. Finally, a number of publications commonly considered to be newspapers are not in the newspaper collection but are in the classified collection as periodicals; among these are the so-called underground press, military camp newspapers, and other specialized titles.

The story of the Library's newspaper collection falls neatly into three parts: the beginnings, 1801-1901, or "the first hundred years are the hardest"; the middle period, 1901-1939, or development and consolidation; and the modern period, 1939 to the present, or the technological revolution.

That newspapers have been a part of the holdings of the Library of Congress from its beginning is understandable. Wherever Congress met before the seat of government was located at Washington, even during the period of the Continental Congress and the Constitutional Convention, privileges of use of a library had been extended to its members. In Philadelphia, the Library Company formally authorized members of the bodies meeting there to use its facilities with all the rights of subscribers in 1774, in 1787, and again in 1790. The New York Society Library similarly invited them to utilize their collection in 1789.<sup>3</sup> Newspapers constituted an important part of the holdings of these libraries.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the third Library of Congress catalog, that of 1808, listed eight newspaper titles, referred to as "Gazettes" and all American, in 57 volumes, 13 of which were second copies.<sup>4</sup> By 1812, the date of the next catalog, it appears that only four volumes had been added to one title, the *National Intelligencer* (Washington, D.C.); one volume of one new title, the *Star* (Raleigh, N.C.) for 1809, was listed.<sup>5</sup> The importance of newspapers was emphasized at this time, however, by the inclusion of "volumes of newspapers" as one of the categories of material to be retained in the Library, in the expanded rules for guidance of the Librarian that appeared in that catalog.<sup>6</sup> Interestingly,

no reference is made to the acquisition of newspapers on a current basis, but this may have been deemed unnecessary as Congress had, in May 1789, resolved that each member of the Senate and House should be furnished one newspaper of his choice at public expense,<sup>7</sup> and there is evidence that, after the Library was established, the Librarian was involved in the procedure.<sup>8</sup>

Such was the extent of the newspaper collection when Admiral Sir George Cockburn held his bookburning. On August 24, 1814, a British force under the command of Gen. Robert Ross, supported by naval vessels, captured Washington and set fire to a number of public buildings, including the White House. A contingent led by Admiral Cockburn burned the Capitol Building, in which the Library was housed. If any books were saved from that disaster, nothing indicates that they included newspaper volumes. The acquisition of the Jefferson library in 1815 resulted in an enhanced newspaper collection, for Jefferson had collected approximately 50 titles in 134 volumes, including two foreign papers, the *General Advertiser* (London) for November and December 1778 and the *London Evening-Post* for November 1778.<sup>9</sup>

Between 1815 and 1852 the subject of newspapers was given occasional notice and the holdings continued to expand modestly. In the report on the 1816 accomplishments of the Joint Congressional Committee on the Library, presented to the Senate on January 6, 1817, a number of Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Washington papers were listed among periodical publications which the committee directed "to be regularly sent to the Library as soon as published."<sup>10</sup> The 1830-31 catalog, however, showed that only three or four new titles had been added to those of the Jefferson library,<sup>11</sup> but through continuing subscriptions to some of the papers the number of volumes had increased to 284. Although it is apparent that binding of newspapers from current receipts began at an early date, many of the files were received from publishers or other suppliers in bound form.

On January 6, 1836, the Joint Committee on the Library directed the Librarian to subscribe to "the newspapers of Washington City not yet taken."<sup>12</sup> By 1840, the list of titles had increased to approximately 60 and the number of volumes

to 541; most of the added titles were, indeed, from "Washington City."<sup>13</sup> The 1849 catalog, the last one before the December 24, 1851, fire, seems to show little change except for the addition of volumes for titles subscribed to; the collection may have just passed the 600-volume mark.<sup>14</sup>

The 35,000 volumes destroyed in the 1851 fire included almost the entire newspaper collection. According to Librarian John S. Meehan's report to the chairman of the Joint Committee on the Library, Senator James Alfred Pearce, dated January 7, 1852, only the following files escaped: *Bell's Weekly Messenger* (London), 12 volumes; the *Times* (London), 1837-49, 50 volumes; the *Atlas* (Boston, Mass.), 1843-49, 13 volumes; and the *Richmond Enquirer* (dates and volumes not indicated). These were saved because they represented an overflow from the "saloon" of the Library, which was destroyed, and were located in one of the three adjacent rooms that were not damaged.<sup>15</sup>

So, with newspapers as with many other subjects, it was necessary to start over. Fortunately, the 11 titles that had been received on a regular basis continued to arrive, and measures were taken to replace some titles. On February 2, 1852, a file of the *Philadelphia Aurora* (Philadelphia, Pa.) was purchased, followed by the *National Intelligencer*, acquired from the Washington City Library at \$10 per volume, and the *Columbian Centinel and Massachusetts Federalist* (Boston, Mass.) on April 19, and by *Le Moniteur Universel* (Paris, France), 1789-1853 (142 volumes), on March 23, 1854. Other files soon added included the *London Gazette*, 1665-1847 (174 volumes), the set said to have been intended for Windsor Castle, and complementary volumes of the *Times* (London), so that by 1861, when the last catalog arranged by chapters was issued, with newspapers listed separately, the collection had been reconstituted to include 34 titles and 987 volumes.<sup>16</sup>

The holdings of American titles were not as extensive as they had been before the fire, however, since most dated only from the 1850's, but a beginning had been made. There was, therefore, some justification for the observation made in the Librarian's 1861 unpublished annual report to the Library Committee:

Another want frequently expressed is that of a complete file of some American newspaper, furnishing a

full, current history of the times for the last twenty years. With the exception of the *National Intelligencer*, the deficiencies of which in this respect are well-known, and a fragment of the *New York Evening Post*, there is no file in the library that covers this eventful period of our political history.<sup>17</sup>

He did ignore the *Richmond Enquirer* (Richmond, Va.), 1808-58, and short runs of three Boston, two other New York, three San Francisco, and several Washington, D.C., papers, but under the circumstances that is perhaps excusable. He recommended that the committee authorize the purchase of a complete set of the *New York Tribune* commencing in the year 1841 or of the *New York Herald* beginning in 1836.

The collection of the Library might have been somewhat improved at this time had the Librarian been able to capitalize on the Smithsonian Institution's determination to rid itself of an accumulation of newspapers, for on June 21, 1860, Prof. Joseph Henry, secretary of the Smithsonian, wrote Samuel F. Haven, librarian of the American Antiquarian Society:

I write to ask whether your society would accept in exchange for anything you may have to dispose of a number of files of newspapers and miscellaneous pamphlets. I do not think that collections of ordinary newspapers belong to the special library of this Institution or that they are of much use in Washington since all the Departments of the Government are obliged to keep files of the more prominent publications of this kind. I have therefore concluded to inquire of you unofficially as to whether the articles would be acceptable to your society.<sup>18</sup>

The offer was accepted, the files were shipped to Worcester, and the gift was reported at length by Haven to the society, along with an essay on the value of newspapers as source material for history.<sup>19</sup>

Whether Henry had offered this collection to the Library of Congress has not been determined, but it is surmised that he did not. An examination of the sketchy description of the files transferred, given by Haven in his report, indicates that they would have represented a significant enhancement of the Library's scant holdings as later listed in the 1861 catalog. On the other hand, there is no evidence that they contributed to the American Antiquarian Society's primacy in the field of pre-1801 American newspapers; the period during which the Smithsonian had

accumulated its papers makes it most improbable that they included any that predated the 19th century.

In recognition of the unsatisfactory state of the newspaper collection of the Library of Congress, undoubtedly as a result of continued pressure from the Librarian, Ainsworth R. Spofford, an amendment was appended to the 1865 appropriation bill authorizing the "sum of \$1,500 for the purchase of the files of leading American newspapers."<sup>20</sup> Use of this sum, which was continued in the subsequent measures, was expanded in 1867, at the request of the Librarian, to include periodicals.<sup>21</sup> Apparently some difficulties developed in acquiring the newspaper files for which it had been intended, as the Librarian's annual report for 1866 showed an unexpended balance of \$2,090.35 in the fund.<sup>22</sup>

A few early titles were added between the 1861 and 1864 catalogs, and the pre-1801 newspaper collection was further strengthened in 1867 when, on March 2, Congress appropriated \$100,000 for the purchase of the Peter Force Collection of materials relating to American history, which included "245 bound volumes of newspapers printed prior to 1800 besides about 700 volumes, bound and unbound, of journals printed from 1800 to the present time. . . ." <sup>23</sup> Spofford's description of the collection reported that: "in the department of early printed American newspapers, there are unusually complete files of the leading journals of Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and other states dating from 1735 to 1800, and covering with much fullness the period of the Stamp Act, the revolutionary war, and the establishment of the present Constitution. . . ." <sup>24</sup> It was undoubtedly this acquisition that contributed most to placing the Library of Congress second to the American Antiquarian Society as having the most extensive holdings of early American newspapers as described by Brigham in *American Newspapers*. And in 1882, the Library's collection of early papers was further strengthened by the volumes of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia, Pa.) acquired as part of the Henry Stevens collection of Franklin material.<sup>25</sup>

Also, in 1867, "in pursuance of the expressed assent of the committee at the last session, a room lying between the central library and the rotunda has been cleared and will shortly be

fitted up as a reading room for periodicals for the sole use of the senators and representatives. This is an improvement long needed and will greatly facilitate the use of the numerous and valuable files of newspapers, magazines, and reviews, foreign and American, now received at the library. The room will contain the bound sets of leading American journals, arranged for easy reference." <sup>26</sup> The Library had obviously come a long way in six years.

During the next few years, further steps were taken to obtain missing issues, exchange duplicates, and consolidate the holdings. For example, on April 18, May 18, and May 21, 1872, Librarian Spofford wrote E. M. Barton of the American Antiquarian Society negotiating for a file of the *Boston Daily Advertiser* (Boston, Mass.) in exchange for duplicates of books or issues of the *National Intelligencer* that the society lacked, a transaction that was successfully completed on November 25, 1872.<sup>27</sup> On January 12, 1877, Spofford wrote to D. J. Durrie, librarian of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, that the Library of Congress was in want of western newspapers as well as portions of many eastern ones, would be interested in exchanging any of those on an enclosed list, and would appreciate receiving a comparable list of titles available for exchange from the society. Spofford also mentioned a considerably larger list of unbound newspapers that he could make available.<sup>28</sup>

As a result of the act of July 8, 1870, which codified the copyright laws, assigned copyright administration to the Librarian of Congress, and ordered deposited with him two copies of each work for which application for registration was made,<sup>29</sup> newspapers began to seek protection, despite the lack of specific mention of them or of periodicals in this or any previous law. Frederick Hudson, writing in 1873, stated:

Several papers, mostly weekly publications, although we have seen one daily newspaper, regularly appear with this announcement under the headline: "Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1871, in the office of the Librarian at Washington." This secures the contents of the paper, thus filed, from piracy and the intention is to confine these contents within the circle of its own circulation.<sup>30</sup>

Hudson proceeded to question the need for copyright of newspapers, but from this beginning

copyright deposit became another source of newspaper acquisition.

Notwithstanding the occasional comments about the weakness of the newspaper collection and the specific directives for increasing coverage given the Librarian by the Library Committee already noted, no evidence exists of attempts to formulate overall policy, goals, and objectives for acquisition of newspapers during the first three-quarters of a century of the Library's existence. Throughout the period, the catalog supplements indicate receipt of approximately a dozen titles regularly. On May 6, 1874, however, probably as a result of a suggestion from Spofford, the Library Committee authorized the Librarian to subscribe for "a number of newspapers daily and weekly, at least two from each State, of different politics, to be kept filed in the Library as matter for reference."<sup>31</sup> The minutes record that Spofford submitted a list of papers along with their cost per year, which he recommended and which was approved by the committee. No mention was made of foreign newspapers.

By July 1874 subscriptions had been placed for over a hundred dailies,<sup>32</sup> and the collection of domestic newspapers in the Library of Congress as it appears today was on its way. The policy enunciated in May 1874 has been followed in essence for the past century and is at the heart of the present program. The subscription to foreign newspapers on any considerable scale did not begin until later.

The pace of acquisitions had barely quickened as a result of the increased interest in newspapers before the Librarian was faced with a problem that has continued to plague his successors: space. In his report for 1875 he states:

Congress provided some years since, at the instance of the Committee on the Library, an appropriation by which two of the principal newspapers of each State in the Union, representing different politics, are taken and bound up for preservation as a part of the history of the times. This important accession to the periodical stacks of the Library is rendered comparatively useless, so far as the current files are concerned, because there is no possible space in which the newspapers can be daily filed for the use and reference of Congress. Though carefully preserved and promptly bound for preservation, there is no longer the possibility even of shelving half the issues of these representative journals, so important in our current history and politics; and

the time will soon come when the legislator in search of a fact, a date, a political article, or a table of statistics known to be in a certain newspaper at a certain date, will find it only at the bottom of a lofty pile of journals, all of which must be displaced before it can be reached. Besides the issues of the daily press, the periodicals which are taken under the copyright law or by subscription, embracing most of the monthly and quarterly magazines and reviews, accumulate with such rapidity that no device yet invented will long avail to produce them when wanted.<sup>33</sup>

Not that all of this was new. Spofford had begun his campaign for more space in his 1871 report.<sup>34</sup> By 1875 he was using the conditions of the increasing newspaper and periodical collections to bolster his arguments to such an extent that in 1876 the Joint Committee on the Library, supporting a bill to erect a building, argued:

Another urgent want of the Library imperatively demands additional space. The most copious and most valuable material for history to be found in this country is imbedded in the newspapers of the country. And not only that, but the information required for the daily work of Congress can be adequately gathered only from the same sources. Scarcely a day passes on which it does not become almost indispensable for the intelligent legislator to refer to the newspapers of some State or Territory, either for the current or the past time.

Mindful of this want, the present librarian is making diligent efforts not only to secure and preserve current files of the leading newspapers from every State and Territory, but, as far as possible, to complete such files by carrying them back to the beginnings of our history. These collections have already become one of the most important features of the library. But they are bulky, and it is inevitable either that they be dispensed with, or that space must be provided for this accommodation.

The committee would be false to its own sense of duty if it did not, for these reasons and for others equally mighty, urge upon Congress the necessity of addressing itself, at once, to the task of providing additional accommodations for the "National Library."<sup>35</sup>

Meanwhile, however, the Librarian did not permit his space difficulties to inhibit his continued attempts to increase and expand the collection. In addition to the exchange arrangements already referred to, Spofford accepted transfers from other agencies of the government as described in the following excerpt from his 1883 report:

Since my last annual report, the Library has received several large and important accessions from the De-

partment of State and from the War Department, through the necessity of vacating rooms which had been occupied by books and newspapers, for the accommodation of an enlarged force of pension clerks. These were then added to the Library's over 3,000 volumes of bound newspapers, and nearly 3,000 volumes of Government Documents. . . . The files of newspapers, all of which are bound, include a great variety of American and foreign journals, running through the greater part of the present century, and are of great historical, commercial, and political value.

. . . Meanwhile, a small additional space has been secured in the crypt under the rotunda, and the Architect of the Capitol has had shelved and prepared for use two remote annexes to the Library, which, though dark and inconvenient, afford actual storage for the great body of bound newspapers, in which the Library of the Government is the richest in the country.<sup>36</sup>

Gleefully, in his 1884 report he anticipated that other agencies facing similar problems of lack of space would follow suit.<sup>37</sup> His prediction came true as in succeeding years he described additional transfers from the State Department as well as from the Bureau of Statistics and the Mint Bureau of the Treasury Department. In 1886 Spofford wrote that "the accumulated files of newspapers under the charge of the Secretary of the Senate, comprising a great number and variety of bound American journals, have been turned over to the Congressional Library, in pursuance of a resolution of the Senate. These are all now rendered available for use and reference, and no department of the Library is more resorted to for stores of information than the department of newspapers."<sup>38</sup> By 1887, annual transfer from many agencies had become routine, and the transfer of surplus library material from other government agencies to the Library was formalized by Act of Congress, February 23, 1903.<sup>39</sup>

In 1897, the list of newspapers published in the United States and received currently by the Library totaled about 100 dailies and 25 weeklies; four foreign titles also appeared on the same list.<sup>40</sup> The condition of the collection as a whole, however, had continued to worsen because of crowding, but this was the year of the magnificent new building with miles of empty shelving and acres of space. The collections were moved from the Capitol into the new building between September 1 and November 20, 1897.<sup>41</sup> Enthusiasm for further extending the scope of the holdings was

evident in plans to expand the list of papers received. Yet the confusion existing after the move demanded top priority and could not be alleviated overnight. As described in the report for 1901, the situation was chaotic:

When the collection was moved into the new building these files were only in part bound, or in condition to be placed on the shelves or even assorted. The newspapers, piled upon the floor filled aisles and alcoves of seven of the nine decks of the south stack. The unbound mass, which could be estimated only by tons, occupied three large rooms. . . .<sup>42</sup> It also was piled upon the floor 6 feet deep, with but narrow aisles along the walls. It was the accumulation of nearly half a century. In fact it had been tied in bundles, but the strings had broken in handling.<sup>43</sup>

Simultaneously with the move to the new building, the Library underwent a complete reorganization of its staff into departments (later divisions), one of which was responsible for periodicals, including newspapers. As in other parts of the agency, the new Periodicals Department, augmented by additional personnel made available from funds designated for the purpose, immediately set to work to bring order out of the chaos. In July 1897, four employees were assigned to work on the mass of materials, but by 1901 the staff had been increased to 11. All three rooms and the two pavilions were cleared; all bound volumes (50,000 in number, including periodicals) were shelved; the mass of unbound issues was rearranged to make possible their accommodation in the stack and under the Rotunda, roughly classified and alphabetized; and the collation of individual sets was begun. Efforts were made to get missing issues, and volumes were assembled for the binder. It was good progress but the 1901 report noted that several more years would be required to complete the job.<sup>44</sup>

In the meantime, other activities were continuing. The list of U.S. newspapers currently received was increased to more than 400 and of foreign to nearly 150, representing "the commercial and political centers throughout the world." Also, to make use of this material possible the Periodical Reading Room was established and opened on January 22, 1900, with hours from 9 a.m. until 6 p.m., extended, on June 4, until 10 p.m. The room had accommodations for approximately 250 readers and contained racks for about 600 newspapers and 2,500 other current

serials. This room was for readers using unbound newspapers and periodicals;<sup>45</sup> bound newspapers were made available only in the Main Reading Room until 1915.<sup>46</sup>

About 22,000 volumes of newspapers, mostly American, were in the Library in 1901, of which over 350 consisted of issues published before 1800. As stated in the 1901 report, "the subscription to foreign newspapers on any considerable scale did not begin until January, 1901."<sup>47</sup> The domestic newspapers were described in the *Check List of American Newspapers in the Library of Congress* compiled under the direction of Allan B. Slauson, chief of the Periodical Division, published the same year, and based on the inventory made during the organization of the collection after the move to the new building. Although this work contained over 3,500 entries, only 398 of the titles cited were newspapers according to the present-day definition.<sup>48</sup> This *Check List* was the beginning of a comprehensive bibliographic program, the products of which would be published from time to time during the next four decades. It also showed the results of intensified efforts to collect and bring under control these important historical sources.

Limitations of staff and insufficient money for binding, however, impeded the effort. The 398 titles included in the Slauson checklist represented only a fraction of those not yet processed and those being received currently. In the latter category, of the approximately 650 titles received currently in 1901, only about one-quarter—the leading American and certain of the foreign newspapers—were being bound. The others were not destroyed but were laid away in loose covers for possible binding later, along with the mass of older unbound ones that constituted an arrearage remaining from the move.<sup>49</sup>

And then there was the problem of deterioration of those papers already bound. In his report for 1897, the Librarian, John Russell Young, a former newspaperman like Spofford, described how rapidly recent newspapers, printed on wood-pulp paper, were deteriorating, in contrast to papers two centuries old that were in as good condition as when printed. As a solution he proposed that printing a few copies on more permanent paper for copyright deposit, and presumably for other libraries, too, be made a part of copyright regulations.<sup>50</sup> In 1901, Slauson in

his annual report to the Librarian, also describing the problem, suggested that flaps be attached to the inside of newspaper bindings in such a manner that they overlapped the edges of the pages and excluded light, to which he attributed the accelerated deterioration.<sup>51</sup>

Neither the permanent paper edition for copyright nor the idea of the flaps was adopted, and problems of deterioration and binding arrearages continued to impede the management of the collection. Although only a half-dozen years had elapsed since the move into the new building, the rapidly accumulating newspaper collection was already overflowing the space allotted, all of it in the five top stories of the south bookstack. In his 1901 report Slauson also pointed out that, with suitable shelving, the basement rotunda by reason of its dryness and darkness would make an admirable storeroom for newspaper volumes and recommended that steel shelves be erected there for that purpose.<sup>52</sup>

The recommendation was apparently not concurred in, for in 1904 temporary wooden shelves were installed in the cellar, into which 10,000 newspaper volumes were moved, although it was "not a suitable place for the preservation, access to, or use of such valuable and constantly called for materials."<sup>53</sup> The next year, the superintendent of buildings and grounds began the campaign for erection of the southeast bookstacks, using the now familiar argument about the crowded condition and inaccessibility of newspapers<sup>54</sup>—the same argument used when the campaign for the new building was under way. After annual repetition of the argument, the need was recognized; in 1908 the new bookstack was authorized, money was appropriated, and work was begun.<sup>55</sup> In March 1910 the construction work was completed, and by midyear the newspaper volumes, now numbering over 40,000, were in place and the pressing space problem was again alleviated for a while.<sup>56</sup>

During the first hundred years and after many ups and downs, the newspaper collection had developed into something resembling its present form. Most of the problem areas had been identified, if not clearly defined: extent of coverage, sources of acquisition, control and bibliography, retrieval and service to users, and preservation and storage. From the early 1900's until 1940,

the story deals largely with development and consolidation.

Generally following the acquisition policies already alluded to, the number of newspaper titles, both foreign and domestic, received currently on a regular basis increased over the next decades. External events and shifting interests affected the scope and nature of these acquisitions in detail, but the general objectives remained constant. In 1915, titles received numbered 965, of which 849 were American (634 dailies and 215 weeklies) and 116 foreign (97 dailies and 19 weeklies). The total number of issues handled approximated 300,000. The number of titles retained for binding was 312, of which 218 were American and 94 foreign. The newspapers not bound were kept for varying lengths of time—one month, one year, five years—before discarding.<sup>57</sup> This was a change from the practice mentioned earlier of adding those not bound currently to an arrearage that it was hoped might be bound some day.

By 1919, however, as a result of the effects of World War I, the number of titles had declined to 738.<sup>58</sup> Since the foreign receipts held rather steady, the decrease occurred mostly in domestic titles, most of which were sent gratis by the publishers. In early 1917, because of the increasing paper shortage, the War Industries Board had ordered newspapers to suspend free distribution of copies, threatening to cut off this important source. Alarmed Library officials pleaded with publishers and the board to make an exception and continue to supply the National Library. On July 25, 1917, they secured a statement from the board which they could communicate to publishers to reinforce their arguments.<sup>59</sup> The campaign was obviously only partially successful, for the number of titles continued to decline through 1920. Beginning in 1921 the trend reversed and during the next two decades the number of papers received, particularly domestic ones, gradually increased again. In 1939, the last year before the disruption caused by World War II, the titles received again exceeded 900.<sup>60</sup>

The number of volumes in the collection increased at an average rate of about 2,000 per year during this period, from the estimated 22,000 in 1901 to more than 100,000 in 1941.<sup>61</sup> The growth was not constant and depended more on the availability of funds for binding than on fluctuations in receipts. The number



*Paper shortage! Newsprint became so scarce in the Confederacy that several newspapers resorted to the use of wallpaper and other substitutes. When federal troops entered the city of Vicksburg, Miss., they found this issue of the Daily Citizen, dated July 2, 1863, on the press. One item in the paper, entitled "On Dit," reported a rumor that Grant had "expressed his intention of dining in Vicksburg on Saturday next, and celebrating the 4th of July and so forth." The editors commented that "Ulysses must get into the city before he dines in it. The way to cook a rabbit is 'first catch the rabbit,' &c."*

*The Union troops added a "note" to the Citizen's text and reprinted the paper on July 4, 1863: "Two days bring about great changes. . . . Gen. Grant has 'caught the rabbit,' he has dined in Vicksburg. . . . This is the last wall-paper edition, and is, excepting this note, from the types as we found them. It will be valuable hereafter as a curiosity."*

*A section of the wallpaper design found on the back of this newsheet is shown above.*



of titles on the binding list remained relatively stable until 1944. At the beginning of the period, the drive to clear up the unbound arrearage left over from the move into the new building continued, as mentioned in the Periodical Division's annual report for 1907; 196 domestic and 150 foreign titles were being bound currently, adding about 1,300 volumes per year to the collection.<sup>62</sup> Additional volumes were collated and bound from the unbound arrearage.<sup>63</sup> A shortage of funds in fiscal year 1915 resulted in cessation of binding in March with the consequence that only 1,517 volumes were bound and the new year began with an arrearage of 824 volumes collated and ready for binding.<sup>64</sup> In 1916, the situation worsened; arrears were now over 2,000 volumes collated and awaiting binding and the annual report contained the lament:

The difficulty in preserving the files in their present unbound condition is obvious. The wear while in use, chances of mutilation, and the danger of loss of copies, are all greatly increased. Meanwhile the demand for these files is continuous. Unless relief can be found from the existing situation we are threatened with serious losses and gaps in our great newspaper collections.<sup>65</sup>

The plea apparently succeeded, for the 1917 report stated that 2,900 volumes were bound including all the previous year's arrearage, and no backlog was mentioned. The situation was somewhat helped, no doubt, by the cessation of receipts for seven German and four Austrian papers as a result of the war. In that year 219 domestic and 77 foreign titles were on the binding list.<sup>66</sup>

For the next 10 years binding funds were apparently adequate and no problems were mentioned. In 1926, however, the Periodical Division reported 1,377 volumes collated and ready for binding but not sent for lack of funds,<sup>67</sup> and on May 27, 1927, the acting chief of the division addressed a memorandum to the Acting Librarian deploring the situation:

During the present fiscal year to date the Periodical Division has been allowed to forward only 2,052 volumes of newspapers for binding as against a total of 2,506 volumes during the last fiscal year. At the present we have 1,264 volumes collated and ready for the bindery. This material is always subject to call for use by readers. Such use while still unbound not only results in unavoidable damage to copies but also neces-

sitates renewed collation in each instance. Therefore it is important that these papers be bound as soon as possible.

The recent placing in the Library Branch Bindery of a stitching machine especially suited to sewing newspapers gives promise of a speeding up of this work if the opportunity can be fully improved. I therefore ask that instruction be given to push this newspaper binding and avoid any and all interruption to the work.<sup>68</sup>

Notwithstanding this and other pleas of those responsible for newspapers and the adoption of cheaper "check binding" in 1926<sup>69</sup> and "Gaylord" binding in 1927,<sup>70</sup> the problem continued into the 1940's.

From what sources did the Library acquire these newspapers? Most U.S. and even some foreign titles were supplied without cost by the publishers, who seemed to feel that having their newspapers available in the national library of the United States was good business. Transfers from other government agencies and their libraries was the second most important source and perhaps the most important one for foreign titles. Exchange with other libraries throughout the country was continued as a means of acquiring new titles and strengthening the holdings of old ones, although "the exchange material received consists almost wholly of items definitely selected by us in advance as desirable for our collections."<sup>71</sup> Still another source for U.S. titles was copyright deposit; in the act of March 4, 1909, "periodicals, including newspapers" were specifically referred to as among the classes of works that may be copyrighted.<sup>72</sup> And, of course, purchase was resorted to when a "must" title was unavailable through any of the other channels.

At the same time day-to-day research needs were being met through the current acquisition program, opportunities to add material of historical value to the collection were accepted.<sup>73</sup> Through gifts, exchanges, and purchases, numerous single issues and groups of issues were acquired from time to time to complete files, to round out the collection, or to preserve contemporary accounts of important and curious events of historical significance. In 1905, for example, many valuable journals issued in England and America during the 18th century were added: one lot of about 300 papers published in London during the period 1711-29; 116 numbers of *Mercurius Politicus*, a weekly summary of events

occurring in Great Britain and on the Continent, 1645-60; and a file of the *Maryland Journal and the Baltimore Advertiser* for 1790, in which was recounted the debate over the location of the National Capital on the banks of the Potomac.<sup>74</sup> In the same year a collection of early California newspapers was acquired by purchase and delivered before the April 26, 1906, earthquake in San Francisco, saving for posterity research materials which might have been destroyed in that disaster.<sup>75</sup> Significant additions in 1906 were John Peter Zenger's *New-York Weekly Journal* for the period 1733-37, an almost complete file for these dates that contains all the issues of the paper pertaining to Zenger's being imprisoned, tried, and found innocent of libel in publishing articles critical of the governmental authorities, the first newspaper libel suit on this continent, and John Holt's *New York Journal; or, the General Advertiser*, for the period 1772-73, a portion of the file of one of the most prominent but more objective of the papers supporting the colonists in their increasing opposition to British colonial policies.<sup>76</sup>

In 1914, the Library received from the John Carter Brown Library 81 photostat copies of issues of the *Newport Mercury* (Newport, R.I.), 1773-76, "the acquisition of [which] indicates the possibilities of the use of the photostat in the field of newspaper collecting, especially among Eighteenth Century newspapers, files of which are so often difficult to obtain. . . ." <sup>77</sup> This is the first mention of the acquisition of photostat or other photocopied newspapers; additional references to photocopying are made from time to time subsequently.

The Library acquired its first photostat machine in 1911.<sup>78</sup> In 1915 it purchased a "photographic copying machine . . . [that] produces a photographic print 18 by 22 inches, or the full size of the ordinary newspaper page," and the same report noted that the "photographic work has rapidly increased until the two machines are now in use most of the time. The increase . . . is largely from the Legislative Reference Division."<sup>79</sup> In 1925, a collection of photographic reproductions of early American newspapers was received from the Massachusetts Historical Society,<sup>80</sup> and the next year the society and the Arkansas Historical Commission are mentioned

as having obtained from the Library of Congress photostatic copies of newspapers to complete their files.<sup>81</sup> In subsequent years, the North Carolina Historical Commission, the State Historical Society of Missouri, and many similar organizations are cited as procuring photocopies to complete holdings. In 1931 and 1932 the Library of Congress obtained such copies of numerous rare issues published in England in the 17th and 18th centuries, as well as runs of the *New York Gazette*; and the *Weekly Mercury* and the *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg, Va.) for 1770-71.<sup>82</sup>

Also in 1914 the War Department transferred 26 volumes and 1,671 numbers of Civil War newspapers, nearly all printed in the South, "a notable addition to our collection of newspapers published in the Confederate States, now increasingly difficult to obtain, and though in many instances only single copies of particular papers have come to us, the ensemble is rich in material affording striking pictures of conditions in the Confederate States during the Civil War."<sup>83</sup> In 1918, the publisher of the *Sun* (Baltimore, Md.) gave an almost complete file of that paper, covering the years 1837-1918, a donation heralded as being "of double significance. It brings to the Library a long, almost complete file of an important newspaper, and it is indicative of the importance attached by newspaper publishers to the Library of Congress as a depository for the papers published by them."<sup>84</sup>

During the following several years, intensive efforts were made to acquire files of newspapers from Germany and its allies and from other belligerent and neutral countries for the 1914-19 period, areas from which receipts were disrupted, and to assemble camp and trench newspapers, in order to enhance the research value of the collection.<sup>85</sup> The most important accession for 1921 was reported to be Mexican papers for the 1911-20 period.<sup>86</sup> In 1927 issues of 298 titles of Russian newspapers published in Russia and abroad during the Revolution and Civil War, 1917-20, were acquired. Of these, 255 were in Russian and 43 in non-Russian languages.<sup>87</sup>

Acquisition of these vast quantities of material represented an effort to meet the demands of the Library's clients, but it also presented problems of space for housing and money and manpower for handling and preserving. Retention decisions had to be reviewed frequently. Because



*An example of a typical colonial American newspaper. John Holt published accounts relating to the developing differences between the colonials and British authorities leading up to the Revolutionary War that were notably objective.*

they were relatively easily acquired, more stringent limitations had to be placed on keeping U.S. titles. We have already referred to the 1874 policy, reiterated in 1900, of keeping "a number of newspapers daily and weekly, at least two from each State, of different politics, to be kept filed in the Library as matter of reference." The policy for foreign papers, also mentioned earlier, continued to be based upon the principal of "representing the commercial and political centers throughout the world."

From the beginning, the Librarian and staff recognized that the institution could not house more than a sampling of American newspapers and that the collection must be guided by general research requirements. In the annual report for 1913 the Librarian described in detail the practice of the New York Public Library to bind and keep only New York City newspapers of which they had long files and only representative foreign titles, disposing of most of the other titles they received after one month. Consequently, that institution bound only 68 titles. In contrast, the Library of Congress was binding 311 titles, of which 214 were American and 97 foreign.<sup>88</sup> Just when the Library began encouraging local libraries and historical associations to preserve the local papers has not been established, but it seems to have underlaid Spofford's exchange program.

So, not only were all titles received not prepared for binding and permanent retention, but also weeding operations were undertaken from time to time. In December 1905 and January 1906, it was reported, "worthless and unimportant" papers that had accumulated were destroyed.<sup>89</sup> In 1925 an accumulation of 3,127 duplicate volumes was checked against the holdings and, as a result, 157 volumes were added to the permanent set, probably to replace worn volumes, 1,170 volumes were placed in "reserve," and 1,800 volumes were disposed of.<sup>90</sup>

The results of this program temporarily delayed moving additional volumes to the cellar to join the 1,800 volumes of certain foreign papers

that saturation of space had forced to be moved in 1923.<sup>91</sup> Other moves were made in 1927 and 1928, obviously also temporary expedients, for space had become an acute problem again not only for the newspaper collection but also for all other operations.<sup>92</sup> During 1932, 1933, and 1934 "many hundreds of volumes of bound newspapers . . . have had to be relegated to the cellar where they are inadequately shelved, difficult of access, and subject to bad atmospheric conditions"; the number exceeded 13,000 volumes by June 30, 1934.<sup>93</sup> Before that year, in 1926 in fact, the Librarian began the long, drawn-out process of promoting another building that finally culminated in the construction of the Annex, completed and occupied in 1939, into which the bound newspaper collection was moved. Adjacent to the collection, a Newspaper Reference Room was opened on the basement floor. Unbound newspapers continued to be made available to readers in the Periodical Reading Room in the Main Building.<sup>94</sup>

Meanwhile, the built-in destruction of the newsprint of which the bulk of the collection consisted was becoming a problem pressing enough to require some attention. Reference has already been made to recognition of this problem as early as 1897. Except for attempting to bind the papers as rapidly as possible, little else seems to have been done for over a quarter of a century; indeed, the existence of the problem was not otherwise alluded to in the annual reports except as an objection to certain storage areas or as a justification for more funding for binding. Then, in 1927, it was reported that three daily newspapers, the *New York Times*, the *U.S. Daily* (Washington), and *Forward* (New York), offered editions printed on rag paper for preservation in libraries.<sup>95</sup> The next year, three more papers became similarly available and the policy of adding to the binding list all titles received on rag paper was adopted.<sup>96</sup> Ultimately, this program included about a dozen titles and seems to have come to an end as a result of the shortages of World War II.

In 1926 and 1927, a letter was sent to publishers of newspapers sent free to the Library requesting that they replace the loose issues with bound volumes. By June 1927, 52 publishers had indicated acceptance of the idea and 59 volumes

had been received,<sup>97</sup> but the process, obviously expensive for the publishers, apparently was soon discontinued.

More significant than the availability of a few rag-paper editions or bound volumes donated to replace gift issues, however, was the acquisition of second copies specifically for binding. The loss and damage to loose issues of papers that had to be lent to readers had long been recognized as serious and costly. As a result of a correspondence campaign conducted in 1927 and 1928, 82 American papers began to send the National Library a second file of their issues for binding.<sup>98</sup> During the following year, 22 titles received on copyright deposit were added to the list of those being handled in this manner.<sup>99</sup> This program reached its greatest scope in 1930, when 179 papers were available in two copies, one for circulation and the other for binding;<sup>100</sup> during the following year, doubtless as a result of economic conditions, the number of titles available for this treatment, both gift and copyright, began to decrease, and in subsequent years it leveled off at approximately the 135 gift and 31 copyright titles reported in 1939.<sup>101</sup>

To a noticeable extent, the early—that is, 18th century and earlier—American and foreign, mostly British, newspapers were viewed as a special collection almost from the first acquisitions, although no evidence exists that they were given exceptional care. Rather they seem to have been shelved along with the other papers according to state or country. The purchase of the Force Collection in 1867 and the Stevens Collection of Franklin material in 1882, already mentioned, gave impetus to this recognition. By 1906 the collection, described as “rare 18th century papers,” had been separated from the mass of volumes and housed in a special case in the division office. Having been collected over a long period from different sources, it was in considerable disarray.<sup>102</sup> In addition to loose issues, the collection contained volumes comprising scattered issues of several titles as well as volumes of titles with missing issues, some of which were among the loose issues or the miscellaneous volumes. Many of the bindings had deteriorated with age and use. During the next two years a major project to recollate and rebind the American papers in this collection was undertaken.<sup>103</sup> As the work progressed, a card list was made

giving details of each issue. Also, duplicates were set aside, lists of missing issues were compiled, and exchanges were arranged with such institutions as the Maryland and Massachusetts historical societies, the Boston and New York public libraries, and the libraries at Dartmouth and Yale. Buckram was used for the binding and manila sheets were inserted between issues, projecting far enough to minimize the necessity of touching the paper in turning the leaves.<sup>104</sup> For the next several years, individual issues and files continued to come in, and by 1912 the 18th-century American collection comprised 369 titles in 908 volumes.<sup>105</sup>

Not until about 1926 were the rare newspaper volumes considered in the same category as the other rare books that had been given special treatment since the Spofford days and housed first in the Librarian's Office, then in the Office of the Chief Assistant Librarian, and later in the northeast corner of the second story of the main building (now the Law Library). The rare book collection continued to grow, and when the northeast book stacks were designed and constructed in the mid-1920's they included a series of secured stacks and a special reading room. Meanwhile, as has been noted, the newspaper collection was having space problems; so, on July 18, 1927, the 1,211 bound volumes then constituting the rare newspaper collection were moved from the Periodical Division to the new area along with the books from the northeast corner and became part of the rare book collection.<sup>106</sup> On February 7, 1928, the Librarian addressed a memorandum to the chief of the Periodical Division, the superintendent of the Reading Room, and the assistant in charge of binding, as follows:

While in general newspapers, including bound files, come within the jurisdiction of the Periodical Division, it will, as a matter of practical convenience, be desirable that issues considered of sufficient rarity to be segregated with the rare book collection shall come within the responsibility of the Superintendent of the Reading Room. This responsibility will extend to the treatment of such files in binding.<sup>107</sup>

Under this edict, an arbitrary cutoff date of December 31, 1800, was established so that age rather than rarity became the determining factor for what was to be transferred from the Periodical Division, and resulted in the removal of

early foreign titles as well as American. The Periodical Division continued to make acquisition decisions even for early newspapers and reported annually in detail on significant additions, but the Rare Book Room, later the Rare Book Division, had the custodial and service assignment. This dual, and sometimes conflicting, responsibility, continued until October 1971 when custody of early newspapers was returned to the Serial Division, the successor of the Periodical Division.

Simultaneously with the development and management of the Library's newspaper collection, and as a part of the process, a major bibliographic program was conducted. Note has already been taken of the publication of *A Check List of American Newspapers in the Library of Congress* in 1901. This was followed in 1904 by *A Check List of Foreign Newspapers in the Library of Congress*, containing 1,034 titles and using the same criteria for inclusion as the 1901 publication. As stated in the prefatory note:

Great Britain and the British possessions, wherever located, are first in the list, followed by other countries of the great natural [geographic] divisions . . . to which are added the Pacific possessions of the United States . . .

Included in the list are many papers commonly known as periodicals, rather than as newspapers which nevertheless give much current news of a general political, religious, or literary character. [It also included official gazettes.]<sup>108</sup>

As a byproduct of the drive to assemble, augment, and rebind the 18th-century American newspapers that occurred around 1906-8, the Periodical Division accumulated the bibliographic data required to publish, in 1912, *A Check List of American Eighteenth Century Newspapers in the Library of Congress*, listing the 369 titles in 908 volumes then constituting the collection.<sup>109</sup>

By the mid-1920's these tools had been rendered obsolete and new, updated editions were deemed necessary. In 1926 the revision of the *Check List of Foreign Newspapers* . . . was begun; by 1928 all work had been completed and the volume was published in 1929. It was an entirely new compilation arranged alphabetically by country, thereunder by city, and within each city by title. During the years intervening since publication of the 1904 *Check List* 498 titles, in-

cluding the official gazettes, had been removed from the newspaper collection and added to the main classified collection. This 1929 edition, representing the 24-year growth, included 2,689 titles in 18,427 volumes published in 79 countries in 21 languages.<sup>110</sup> No sooner was the foreign newspaper project out of the way than the division commenced work on a new edition of the *Check List of Eighteenth Century American Newspapers*. This work was ready for the printer by 1932 but insufficient funds delayed its publication until 1936. It listed 506 titles in 1,520 volumes.<sup>111</sup>

In order to provide complete coverage of the collection, work was begun in 1937 on a revision of the 1901 *Check List of American Newspapers, 1801 to Date*,<sup>112</sup> and although this project was still alive in 1940, it was progressing slowly. In that year the division chief asked for two positions to support the activity but nothing came of the request and the *Check List* was not completed.<sup>113</sup> Undoubtedly, the publication of the monumental "Union List of Newspapers"<sup>114</sup> in 1937, to which the Library of Congress and its holdings made a major contribution, minimized somewhat the significance of such a work in rounding out the bibliographical coverage of the collection.

Up to this point only passing reference has been made to the reason for being of this major program to develop such an immense collection, namely, its use. It will be recalled that when he first came to the Library Spofford had deplored the deficiency of the newspaper collection, emphasized the importance of the genre as a resource for understanding the history and evolution of political, social, cultural, and economic aspects of man's life, and set in motion a program to overcome the lack. That he was spectacularly successful is demonstrated by the recognition that within 20 years the Library of Congress newspaper collection had become the richest in the country.

As the collection continued to expand, its use by members of Congress, by members of the staff of the Library answering reference questions, by serious researchers, and by other users grew apace. Statistics are unavailable for the very first years of this century, but the 1915 annual report shows that the number of newspaper volumes served to readers over the previous five fiscal

years increased from 5,951 in 1911 to 7,641 in 1915. Since the total number of volumes in the collection in 1915 was about 52,000, the equivalent of 15 percent of the entire collection was in use, prompting the observation that:

The bound volumes of newspapers . . . , forming a collection of material which is notably rich and *ensemble* nowhere else to be duplicated, have been in use by students and investigators as in no previous year.

Statistics such as these are merely suggestive at best. What serviceable aid the investigation may gain is likewise suggested by a word of a historian working in the Library who said when the volume he wanted was produced "you have saved me a trip to Mexico." Daily the collection is being explored for economic, historical, political, social, literary, and other material, the increase in use being the inevitable result of possession of such a large and important body of material.<sup>115</sup>

By 1921 the number of volumes used by readers in a year had passed 10,000. Ten years later the demand had nearly tripled (28,193), and in addition readers were delivered 14,132 unbound issues. In 1940, some 63,000 volumes were served to readers, out of a total of 100,000 in the collection, along with 186,000 unbound issues.<sup>116</sup>

So ended about 1940 what may be considered the middle period in the history of the newspaper collection of the Library of Congress, a time of consolidation, recognition, and solid accomplishment. As with the beginning era, this period closed with a new building, a new Librarian, and a new organizational structure. The Annex was occupied in 1939, the year in which Archibald MacLeish succeeded Herbert Putnam as Librarian; reorganization of the Library into departments and divisions soon followed. As a result, the former Periodical Division became the Serials Division on April 1, 1944, with no change in functions regarding newspapers.

In the words of the 1940 annual report, comparing the state of the various collections at that time with their status in 1900:

At the commencement of his administration as Librarian . . . [Putnam] published an analysis of the several departments of the collections as they then were. Using four categories of "strong," "fair," "weak," and "very weak" Mr. Putnam judged the collections transferred to his custody as follows:

The Library of Congress was "strong". . . in American newspapers. . . .

There could be no greater tribute to Mr. Putnam than a comparison of these findings with the state of the collections at the time of his retirement. . . . Its newspaper collections are in all probability the largest collection of foreign newspapers, with English files running back to 1620, Italian to 1768, German to 1773, French to 1777, and Spanish to 1786. Its collection of 18th century American newspapers is also notable being one of the two largest in the United States. In American newspapers of the two succeeding centuries its collection is the largest in existence.<sup>117</sup>

The present era, beginning about 1941, has been dominated by three interlocking and overlapping developments: the extent of deterioration of newsprint and the effort to preserve the collection by transferring it to microfilm; the expansion of foreign coverage and the growth of the bound volume collection at least until 1962; and the continued shortage of space.

The deterioration of woodpulp paper on which newspapers have been printed since the last quarter of the 19th century had been early recognized, as mentioned above, increasing concern had been expressed during the ensuing years, and some halting steps had already been taken in the 1920's as noted. It was a problem not only for libraries but also for the newspapers themselves and by the 1930's had reached serious proportions. A number of new ideas had been considered to mitigate the effects of deterioration. Since it was caused by the high acid content of the papers, one proposal was to soak each page in a chemical solution to reduce the acidity. Another suggestion was to reprint the most important papers at half-size on good quality paper.<sup>118</sup> None of these proposals offered an entirely satisfactory solution; soaking each page was too expensive and reprinting at reduced size was not only costly but also reduced the print too much for practical reader use. As for printing on rag paper, proposed in 1897 and actually tried during the 1930's as mentioned, that, too, was expensive and did nothing to save the already existing files which were most deteriorated.

Fortunately, the spreading acceptance of microfilm in the business world, as applied particularly by the Recordak Corporation since the early 1920's to the preservation and reduction in bulk of bank and other commercial papers, had been noted by scholars and librarians, including members of the staff of the Library of Congress, who became interested in availing themselves of

such a convenient and economical means of increasing library collections and of preserving them from loss. Beginning in 1928, the Library of Congress, through the Wilbur Fund and a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, undertook to acquire from foreign archives transcripts and facsimiles, including photographic copies, of manuscripts, documents, and a few newspapers relating to the history of the United States, including both ordinary photostatic copies and microfilm using the French Lemare process.<sup>119</sup> Interest in the resultant saving of space and in the possibilities for copying deteriorating material for preservation through the use of microreproduction soon followed and the potential for solving some of the newspaper problems became readily apparent. Experiments were conducted, technicians were consulted, equipment was adapted, and in 1935 Recordak announced a project to microfilm the *New York Times* for the period 1914-18. So much interest was shown by both librarians and researchers as well as newspaper publishers that the venture was an immediate success and Recordak expanded its coverage first to the remainder of the back file of the *Times*, later to the current file of the same paper, and then to other leading newspapers.<sup>120</sup> Before the end of the 1930's other entrepreneurs entered the field, a number of newspapers on microfilm became available on a current subscription basis, and the newspaper microfilming industry was thus born.

On March 1, 1938, the Library of Congress announced the establishment of the Photoduplication Service, with the assistance of a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, for the purpose of developing and applying microphotography in documentary reproduction and as an aid to research.<sup>121</sup> From the beginning it was recognized that one of its principal applications would be to newspaper preservation and to the reduction of space required to house newspapers. As soon as they were available, the Library acquired Recordak's *New York Times* films, and among the first pieces of equipment for the Photoduplication Laboratory were cameras developed specifically for newspaper reproduction. Furthermore, the appropriation act of 1940 for operating the Library included \$1,000 for filming newspapers on an experimental basis. By June 30, 1940, it could be reported that the

Library had acquired files of newspapers on microfilm from outside sources and had produced with its own equipment 129 reels of the *Washington Post* covering the period December 6, 1877-March 25, 1905. The publisher of the *Post* was sufficiently interested in the project to lend bound volumes to supplement those in the Library's collection in the interest of making the job as complete as possible. "This was the first long newspaper file filmed by the Library and the experience gained in collation and in camera work will be most helpful in future developments."<sup>122</sup>

The 1941 appropriations act included a second \$1,000, this to be used to film the *Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.), 1853-1918, under an arrangement by which the Library and the publisher would bear equally the total cost of the negative and two positives, with the additional proviso that the District of Columbia Public Library would become a third equal-share partner if it could find the money, giving birth to the Library's first truly cooperative newspaper microfilming project. Also noteworthy in connection with this project was the decision, agreed to by the publisher whose file was used, to cut the volumes, thereby eliminating the gutter distortions that had occurred in the earlier filming, both that of Recordak in reproducing the *New York Times* and that of the Library in copying the *Washington Post*.<sup>123</sup> This was a major decision, for it meant that in order to film a file for preservation it was necessary to destroy it; once the volumes were cut for this purpose it was impractical, and usually impossible, to restore them.

So successful was the Library's experiment that Congress included in the 1942 appropriations act \$15,000 for filming old newspaper files, and the full-fledged preservation program was launched.<sup>124</sup> The expansion that was made possible resulted in a number of significant developments during this year. In addition to continuing the filming of the *Star* and *Post*, a cooperative project with several North Carolina libraries was inaugurated to film the *News and Observer* (Raleigh, N.C.) for the years 1880-1900.<sup>125</sup> A beginning was made to acquire current titles on microfilm in lieu of binding; by November 1941 subscriptions for seven American and 11 foreign titles had been placed and were being received.

Also, orders for about 1,950 reels of newspaper films of several noncurrent files from outside sources were placed, at a cost of around \$11,000.<sup>126</sup> As a result, by the end of fiscal year 1942 the collection of newspapers on microfilm had increased from 450 to 3,845 reels.<sup>127</sup>

In the same year the Periodical Division compiled a list entitled *Newspaper Files in the Library of Congress Selected for Microfilming*, covering the leading American papers from each state and territory for the woodpulp period from approximately 1874 to 1940 and totaling 45,682 volumes. It was noted that the films already received, ordered, or recommended "will reproduce the issues contained in 1,462 of these volumes. Recommendations for the purchase of other films will be made as rapidly as prices and other details are learned through correspondence."<sup>128</sup>

One handicap the chief of the division described was the inability to procure reading machines in order to make use of the growing microfilm collection, but this was a general problem as such machines were in short supply and government agencies had to establish needs under the prewar priority system then beginning to operate.<sup>129</sup> Since the machines were expensive, since the various types of material the Library had collected on microfilm were scattered throughout divisions responsible for the material in its original form, and since such decentralization increased the number of reading machines required, a decision was made to transfer custody of all microfilms, including newspapers but excluding manuscripts, to the Rare Book Room. In May 1942 a Microfilm Section was established to control and provide reader service on them, an arrangement that lasted until 1950, when custody and service of newspapers on microfilm was returned to the Serials Division.<sup>130</sup>

During 1943, spectacular progress continued. Filming of the *Evening Star* was completed and continued on a current basis. The *Washington Post* was completed through 1925 and was, at the same time, being filmed currently. Approximately 3,000 reels of Ohio newspapers from the beginning of the 19th century to the present, filmed by the Work Projects Administration, were acquired—although they were not counted in the total for the year but instead placed on shelves and processed into the collection gradually. In

summary, the collection now consisted of 6,341 reels containing 93 titles published in the United States and 29 from foreign countries; parts of 42 of these titles were still being received, including 26 being acquired by subscription on a current basis.<sup>131</sup>

In 1944, the year the Reference Department was reorganized and the Periodicals Division became the Serials Division, 3,361 reels were added and the microfilm subscription list increased to 28 titles.<sup>132</sup> The following year, during which the collection grew to 14,289 reels,<sup>133</sup> the most noteworthy project inaugurated was the filming—in lieu of binding—of 749 titles of foreign-language domestic newspapers for the years 1941–44, published in 36 languages and collected from 39 states and territories. Completed during that year were 21 of the titles (85 reels).<sup>134</sup> By 1950, the collection had grown to 24,046 reels, the *Alexandria Gazette* (Alexandria, Va.) had been picked up as the third title the Photoduplication Service was filming currently on a continuing basis, and microfilms of 85 titles were being subscribed to currently. A special project carried out that year in cooperation with the Committee on Negro Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies was the filming of early Negro newspapers. An unusual acquisition the same year consisted of the first installment of 1,439 cards of the Microcard edition of the *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, Ky.). Receipts of additions totaling finally some 5,000 cards were received over the next two years after which the project seems to have been suspended, but the file is still in the custody of the Microform Reading Room. In 1950, too, preservation microfilming became a regular item in the Library's appropriation. Since 1939 Congress had made several special appropriations for this purpose as the Library presented its requests and justified them.<sup>135</sup>

The outlines of the newspaper microfilm program were by this time well defined. Microfilm copies had been established as a substitute for deteriorating newspaper files, and the equipment, manpower, and organization to do the work became a part of the operational structure. The Library preferred acquiring film from outside sources in lieu of doing the work itself, provided the film met its standards.<sup>136</sup> When they were available, the Library would subscribe to current files on film in place of binding, acquiring

hardcopy issues for immediate use which would be discarded after receipt of reels. This practice was not uniformly followed, as many titles received on film were also bound because of their use, particularly by congressional offices that did not have access to reading machines. The preferred medium was 35 mm roll film. Film produced at the Library would be processed by the Photoduplication Service, but the files to be copied would be collated and prepared by the staff of the Serials Division or other custodial divisions. The Photoduplication Service would sell copies of its filmed files to other libraries and institutions and in some cases would produce on a continuation basis current files, also available for purchase.

Obviously, the Library of Congress was not operating in a vacuum in carrying out its newspaper microfilming program. As with all such programs, it worked closely with other libraries and institutions, professional associations, and individuals who were involved in developing, using, and storing the products. For example, at the request of the Association of Research Libraries (ARL), concerned about the lack of centralized information on long-run projects for newspaper microfilming resulting in expensive duplication and other problems, the Library in 1948 established in its Union Catalog Division a Microfilm Clearing House. As part of this project Library personnel prepared and ARL issued *Newspapers on Microfilm: A Union Checklist* (1948), a publication eventually to run to seven editions, the latest of which was published by the Library of Congress in 1973, and prepared a statement of standards for microfilming newspapers. By June 30, 1949, the full scope of service of the Microfilm Clearing House was announced and forms for reporting holdings were made available for distribution.<sup>137</sup>

In the meantime, the increasing involvement of the United States in global affairs, beginning with events preliminary to its entry into World War II, had caused greater emphasis than ever before to be placed on the acquisition of foreign newspapers. Early in 1941 consideration was given to developing lists of foreign newspapers currently received to be made available to other libraries and scholars. Because the Library had many papers not available elsewhere in this country the need for such lists was recognized but lack of staff prevented doing much immediately to-

ward meeting this requirement.<sup>138</sup> The interest generated by the urgency of events did result in the first airmail subscriptions being placed. The 1942 *Annual Report* noted receipt of newspapers from Mexico within 24 hours, from Argentina within three days, and from England within one week.<sup>139</sup>

The number of titles received currently jumped from 998 in 1941 to 1,150 in 1945 and continued to increase to more than 1,600 in 1970.<sup>140</sup> The actual increase in foreign titles was greater than these figures would indicate, however; in 1939, for instance, of the 917 titles received 778 were U.S. and 139 foreign and in 1970 of 1,531, only 655 were U.S. and 876 foreign.<sup>141</sup>

Transfer of foreign newspapers from other government agencies whose scope, expanded by war and postwar demands, required greater coverage of foreign events; acquisition through officers of missions in foreign countries; purchase; and exchange were all sources for this expanded coverage. In 1951 it was stated that:

Because of the Korean War and other problems that increased emphasis on foreign affairs, efforts were made to strengthen holdings generally on other countries. Particular attention was given to newspapers and other periodicals, for the first contain up-to-date political, economic, and social information and the second, reports on scientific and technological developments. Weaknesses, both known and unknown, were spotlighted and, on the basis of specific recommendations from the area experts, we took what steps we could to fill the gaps.<sup>142</sup>

The newspapers thus collected came in the form of bound volumes, unbound issues, and microfilm. In 1942, the Periodicals Division acquired by transfer from a government agency microfilms of newspapers and periodicals from foreign areas. This resulted in enhancing "spot reference capability" beyond anything previously possible.<sup>143</sup> In 1946, the division received through another government source 9,014 bound volumes and 80,040 unbound issues of 891 titles published in 43 countries, almost all in German and covering the years 1861-1944, collected by the Deutsche Auslander-Institut, Stuttgart.<sup>144</sup> Toward the close of fiscal year 1951, as a result of negotiations conducted by the Hispanic Foundation, the University of Santiago, Chile, began filming the complete files of two major Chilean newspapers, *El Mercurio* and *El Ferrocarril*, for

the purpose of making them available to researchers both in Santiago and at the Library of Congress. This appears to have been the first Library of Congress effort at international co-operation in microfilming of newspapers.<sup>145</sup>

As has occurred repeatedly during the history of the collection, increased acquisition activity resulting from policy changes coincided with the development of a space crisis. So, only 10 years after the move into the Annex, the division reported that the bound newspaper collection was badly congested and in urgent need of space for expansion. The expanded program of purchasing current files on microfilm in lieu of binding had retarded growth. The addition of more titles to the microfilm program would further reduce the rate of growth, but it would not improve the present state of things. When the collection was moved into the Annex it totaled almost 100,000 volumes; in 1949, it consisted of 128,878 volumes. Notwithstanding the disposing of 875 volumes as duplicates of files then on microfilm, there was a net gain of 3,714 volumes during the next year. The space in the Annex in which the collection was housed would accommodate an estimated 135,000 volumes, theoretically leaving space for the equivalent of about one more year's growth. But collections do not expand evenly, so that some areas were overflowing and others had a little space. Shifting would gain nothing under the circumstances.<sup>146</sup> So the argument went, and from this time until the 1970's the division attempted to balance deterioration, the growth of the bound collection, space constraints, including later encroachments of other collections, and microfilming both for preservation and for space reduction. Positive steps designed to alleviate the problem were discussed and agreed upon, but it required 10 more years to halt the increase.

On April 23, 1951, the Librarian authorized the disposal of short runs of newspapers to other libraries on an ad hoc basis as recommended by the Serials Division. Also, the reserve set of the *Washington Post*, deposited by the publisher, was moved from the main collection in the Annex to a remote part of the Main Building. Both actions permitted some temporary alleviation of the crowded conditions.<sup>147</sup>

The next year the Librarian formalized the policy, occasionally applied in the past, of permitting the disposal to other libraries of bound

newspapers replaced by microfilm.<sup>148</sup> Additional studies to identify materials and determine the feasibility of selecting out titles and volumes and shifting the collection were made in 1954 and 1958.<sup>149</sup> Thousands of volumes were removed as a result of all these moves, although it was a laborious and time-consuming operation. Furthermore, subscriptions to current titles on microfilm continued to be added, the numbers increasing from 123 in 1953 to nearly 300 in 1958.<sup>150</sup>

But the rate of increase of volumes surpassed their replacement by microfilm, so that the crisis of storage worsened. The progress made in almost 20 years in replacing deteriorating files was recognized as inadequate. In 1956, a study of the collection to assess the magnitude and cost of microfilming the woodpulp volumes was completed. It was determined that a few domestic and most foreign titles would have to be filmed by the Library in its Photoduplication Service because they were not available commercially. It was estimated that 118,500 volumes were in the woodpulp category and that their replacement would cost over \$2 million. Some assistance could be expected from the Foreign Newspaper Microfilming Program of ARL, in which the Library was participating, but the extent of the Library of Congress collection placed limits on this possibility.<sup>151</sup>

Marshaling the arguments to support requests for increased funds was so successful that it became possible, by 1963, to stop all binding of current titles—except for 14 that, because of reference demand, had to be added in both bound volumes and microfilm. The program was completed by adding, during the same year, 639 foreign and 17 U.S. titles to the existing microfilming subscription list. That same year, the largest number yet of retrospective titles was recommended for filming: 52, of which 31 were foreign and 21 U.S. titles.<sup>152</sup> The results of these measures showed up dramatically. In 1961, the last year in which the bound collection showed a net gain, the collection reached just under 165,000 volumes, of which over 20,000 were stored on the floors of aisles. By 1963, the number of bound volumes had been reduced to 145,000 through the acquisition of microfilm.<sup>153</sup> Henceforth, the bound collection continued to decline steadily.

As the microfilm collection increased in size and the Library became more dependent on this process, new problems developed. Until 1954, the newspaper microfilm collection contained negative and positive films, both of which were subject to scratching and other damage when used in reader service. When it became apparent that continued use of negatives could result in such irreparable damage that usable positive copies could no longer be made from them, it was decided to transfer all negatives to the Photoduplication Service, where they would be used only for reproducing positives and not for reader service. Immediately it became necessary to acquire positives of many files, for this action removed from the collection over 10,000 reels of newspapers on microfilm.<sup>154</sup> The necessity to purchase these positive films and the problems of ensuring that film acquired from outside sources met the quality standards it had become necessary to develop were among the reasons the program to replace bound newspapers with microfilm made relatively slow progress between its inception in 1938 and its full burgeoning in 1963.

Ironically, too, the newspaper microfilm collection—established to save space—soon had its own space problems. When it was first returned from the Microfilm Reading Room of the Rare Book Division in 1951, it consisted of about 32,000 reels and was housed in a large gridded area in the Annex.<sup>155</sup> By 1957, its 38,000 reels had overflowed into other areas, and a system of special shelves was developed and installed using available aisle space.<sup>156</sup>

Other developments not directly involved in the mainstream of the acquisitions, space, and microfilm concerns were occurring during this 20-year period. In 1941, the Periodical Division issued the first edition of a publication of immense help to its readers: *Newspapers Currently Received in the Library of Congress*. This annual gave information on the periodicity, source, disposition, and location in the Library for each domestic and foreign title received.<sup>157</sup> It lasted until 1950 and was revived in 1968 as a biennial publication.<sup>158</sup>

Also in 1950, the division issued *A Select List of Latin American Newspapers in the Library of Congress*, giving a detailed record of the holdings of 241 titles published before 1870. Titles and issues that were available in a number of other

libraries were indicated. Another publication of the same year, *European Newspapers Currently Received*, reflecting the increasing interest in foreign area research, listed 170 titles with source and periodicity.<sup>159</sup>

Continuing the interest in developing the foreign newspaper collection, work was begun the next year in the Slavic Room on compiling a union list of post-revolution Russian newspapers to be found in U.S. libraries. It was to be used as a basis for a proposed cooperative microfilm project. The union list was sponsored by the Joint Committee on Slavic Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies; the preliminary edition was issued in 1952 and a final edition in 1954. Concurrently, the staff was compiling a list of available microfilms.<sup>160</sup> Before the preliminary list was completed in 1952, a list of postwar foreign newspapers held in American libraries was started in the Serials Division, and negotiations leading to the transfer of files of a large number of foreign language domestic newspapers from the Library of Congress to the Midwest Inter-Library Center, now the Center for Research Libraries (CRL), were undertaken.<sup>161</sup> As the 1950's unfolded, the Library of Congress and other libraries working through ARL continued to conduct studies and prepare lists leading to increasing cooperation in the exchange of newspapers and greater participation in cooperative microfilm projects.

Internal changes also took place. In 1949, the Newspaper Reference Room was moved from the ground floor of the Annex to the North Reading Room on the fifth floor.<sup>162</sup> Meanwhile, access to unbound newspapers was still through the Periodical Reading Room in the Main Building. Since its opening in 1900, the most current issues had been available to readers on racks. In 1951, this procedure was suspended, the racks were removed, and readers were required to ask for papers as they did periodicals.<sup>163</sup> By the decisions made in 1965 all these distinctions were eliminated. In that year the Newspaper Reference Room was returned from the fifth to the ground floor of the Annex, unbound newspapers were transferred from the Main Building to the Annex, and newspapers in all forms, bound, unbound, and on microfilm, were served to readers in the same reading room.<sup>164</sup> In 1971 all Serial Division reader service activities, including ac-

## FLYING MACHINE SOARS 3 MILES IN TEETH OF HIGH WIND OVER SAND HILLS AND WAVES AT KITTY HAWK ON CAROLINA COAST

### TALLY SHEETS WILL DECIDE CONTEST

Chairman Day Formed to Re-View From Richmond to Get Results For Committee

THREE FACTORS HAS ADVANTAGE THUS FAR

All Prizes Ruled Out of Reaching by Decision Vote Between Flight Begins

BOTH SIDES TO ARGUE BY FINAL DECISION

Special to Virginian-Pilot. CHESAPEAKE, Va., Dec. 15. With all preliminary matters in the way the flying machine contest between the two teams, which began at Kitty Hawk, N. C., on Monday, December 14, is now in progress. The contest is being watched by a large number of people, and the results are being tallied by a committee of three men, who are expected to make a final decision on the results of the contest.

### U. S. LANDING PARTY FINDS STRONG CAMP OF COLOMBIAN TROOPS

Natives Order American Flag Hauled Down on Cutter But it Stays Put

Special to Virginian-Pilot. CHESAPEAKE, Va., Dec. 15. The United States landing party, which arrived at the mouth of the Amazon River, Brazil, on December 14, has found a strong camp of Colombian troops. The troops are well armed and are in a position to resist any attempt to land. The landing party is now in a difficult position, and it is expected that the contest will be a long and hard one.

### TO DEEPEN THE HARBOR AT NORFOLK

Secretary of War to Report Plan to Congress For Making Ship Channel Here 35 Feet Deep to Float Big Warships

SENATOR MARTIN INTRODUCED MEASURE

Special to Virginian-Pilot. WASHINGTON, Dec. 15. The Secretary of War has been asked to report to Congress on a plan to deepen the harbor at Norfolk, Va., to a depth of 35 feet. The plan is to make the harbor deep enough to float the largest warships. The plan is being introduced by Senator Martin.

### "WANTS CANAL BUILT WITHOUT SUSPICION OF NATIONAL DISHONOR"

Senator Hale and Governor in Fiercely Debated on Face of the Senate

Special to Virginian-Pilot. WASHINGTON, Dec. 15. The Senate is now in session, and the debate on the canal bill is continuing. Senator Hale and Governor are in a fierce debate on the face of the Senate. The debate is about the canal bill, which is being introduced by Senator Hale.

### NO BALLOON ATTACHED TO AID IT

Three Years of Hard Work by Two Ohio Brothers Crowned With Success

ACCOMPLISHED WHAT LANGLEY FAILED AT

With Man as Passenger Hugs Machine Flies Like Bird Under Perfect Control

BOX KITE PRINCIPLE WITH TWO PROPELLERS

Special to Virginian-Pilot. CLEVELAND, Ohio, Dec. 15. The two Ohio brothers, who have been working on a flying machine for three years, have finally succeeded. They have built a flying machine that can fly like a bird, and it is under perfect control. The machine is based on the box kite principle, and it has two propellers.

# The New York Times.

"All the News That's Fit to Print."

VOL. LXXXV, No. 25,526

NEW YORK, MONDAY, MAY 22, 1917.

THE WEATHER  
Clear, with a few clouds; moderate to fresh easterly winds.

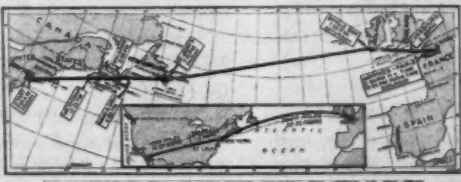
## LINDBERGH DOES IT! TO PARIS IN 33½ HOURS; FLIES 1,000 MILES THROUGH SNOW AND SLEET; CHEERING FRENCH CARRY HIM OFF FIELD

COULD HAVE GONE 500 MILES FARTHER

Gasoline for at Least That Much More—Flow at Times From 10 Feet to 10,000 Feet Above Water.

AT ONLY ONE AND A HALF OF HIS FINE SANDWICHES

Fell Asleep at Times but Quickly Awakened—Chomped of His Adventure in Brief Interviews at the Embassy.



MAP OF LINDBERGH'S TRANSATLANTIC ROUTE, SHOWING THE SPEED OF HIS FLIGHT.

CROWD ROWS THUNDEROUS WELCOME

Breaks Through Lines of Soldiers and Police and Surging to Plane Lifts Weary Flier from His Cockpit

WARRIORS SAVE HIM FROM FRENCH MOB OF YACHTS

Paris Boulevards Ring With Celebration After Day and Night Watch—American Flag is Colored For and Wildly Acclaimed.

### LINDBERGH'S OWN STORY CONTINUED.

Captain Charles G. Lindbergh was interviewed after his arrival in Paris for the first time in his life. He was interviewed by a reporter from the Virginian-Pilot.

### LEVINE ABANDONS BELLEFLORE FLIGHT

Visitors Gaze Up at Engineer Spills With Him—Plane Narrowly Escapes Burning.

### STINE'S DUTY IS NAME

Lindbergh's flight was a great success, and it was a great achievement for him.

### NEW YORK STAGES BIG CELEBRATION

After Hours of Anxious Waiting

### SENDER GUILT, FATHERS, FIVE SONS AND BROTHERS GARY HUNTER OF THE FLYING MACHINE

Special to Virginian-Pilot. NEW YORK, May 22. The city of New York is celebrating the arrival of Captain Charles G. Lindbergh. The city is filled with people who are celebrating the arrival of the hero.

### LEVINE ABANDONS BELLEFLORE FLIGHT

Visitors Gaze Up at Engineer Spills With Him—Plane Narrowly Escapes Burning.

### STINE'S DUTY IS NAME

Lindbergh's flight was a great success, and it was a great achievement for him.

### NEW YORK STAGES BIG CELEBRATION

After Hours of Anxious Waiting

### SENDER GUILT, FATHERS, FIVE SONS AND BROTHERS GARY HUNTER OF THE FLYING MACHINE

Special to Virginian-Pilot. NEW YORK, May 22. The city of New York is celebrating the arrival of Captain Charles G. Lindbergh. The city is filled with people who are celebrating the arrival of the hero.



CAPTAIN CHARLES G. LINDBERGH. He flew from New York to Paris in 33½ hours.

### LINDBERGH THRILLS COOLIDGE

President Coolidge Praises "Heroic Flight" and Offers to Honor the Engineer and His Plane.

### CAPITAL THINGS WITH AIR

Lindbergh, Mrs. Lindbergh, Father and Mother Were Seen in Flight to Paris.

### PARIS BOULEVARDS RING WITH CELEBRATION

After Day and Night Watch—American Flag is Colored For and Wildly Acclaimed.

### SENDER GUILT, FATHERS, FIVE SONS AND BROTHERS GARY HUNTER OF THE FLYING MACHINE

Special to Virginian-Pilot. NEW YORK, May 22. The city of New York is celebrating the arrival of Captain Charles G. Lindbergh. The city is filled with people who are celebrating the arrival of the hero.

Scant newspaper coverage was given to the Wright brothers' first flight. Almost unique in considering the story worth front page coverage, the Norfolk Virginia Pilot reported: "Over the sand hills of the North Carolina coast yesterday, near Kitty Hawk, two Ohio men proved that they could soar through the air in a flying machine of their own construction," says the front page story, and it adds that "the little crowd of fisher folk and coast guards, who have been watching the construction of the machine with unconcealed curiosity since September 1st, were amazed."

Between 1903 and 1927, however, public interest in air travel grew significantly. When Lindbergh landed in Paris, the New York Times reported that "it was high drama. Picture the scene. Almost if not quite 100,000 people were massed on the east side of Le Bourget air field. Some of them had been there six and seven hours." And by July 21, 1969, when Neil Armstrong set foot on the moon's surface, newspaper front pages throughout the country announced the event with banner headlines. The Chicago Tribune chose to quote Armstrong's first words upon alighting: "That's one small step for man; one giant leap for mankind."

The examples shown here are taken from the Library's collection of front pages reporting significant historical events. Since newsprint deteriorates rapidly, pages considered to be of particular interest are preserved by deacidification and lamination and then made available for use in exhibits at the Library and at other institutions.



cess to newspapers, were combined in the Newspaper and Current Periodical Room on the first floor of the Annex.

Perhaps the most significant recent changes in reader service have resulted from the transfer in 1969 and 1972 first of the foreign and then of the domestic bound newspapers to remote storage, from which they are retrievable within 24 hours (48 hours on holidays and weekends). This move was necessitated by the continuing pressure to expand other collections within the fixed space then available. It was justified because the collection was being replaced by microfilm, it occupied large blocks of prime book space, and most of its users were serious researchers who could anticipate their needs and adapt to the schedule imposed.

During the early 1950's the most intensive effort in the history of the collection was made to refine the acquisition policy for both foreign and domestic newspapers, to examine the current receipts to see that they met the stated objectives, to relate the microfilm program in its two parts—i.e., preservation of noncurrent papers and acquisition of current titles on film—to the stated objectives, and to encourage the development of cooperative programs and participation in them. The emphasis was undoubtedly forced by the combination of space needs and the cost of transferring old files to film and acquiring current ones on film.

The establishment of the Microfilm Clearing House and publication of the first edition of *Newspapers on Microfilm* by the Library at the request of the Association of Research Libraries in 1949 has already been noted. In 1952, the Library was participating in the deliberations of the Committee on National Needs of ARL, with a view to considering the means of improving the representation of foreign newspapers in American research libraries. At the same time, it was formulating its internal policies to guide acquisitions of newspapers in all forms and to utilize microfilming as both a special tool and a format. With regard to American newspapers, a preliminary statement said that the Library would acquire all newspapers of wide circulation, representative papers from each of the states and U.S. territories, selected on the basis of reader demand, and newspapers representing all significant economic, religious, foreign language, and

other groups. From foreign areas, the Library would acquire a selection of newspapers providing the most complete coverage of events and representing the principal viewpoints. Among the stated policies related to microfilming that were actually adopted that year was a reiteration of the practice of limiting its copying largely to metropolitan dailies which had not already been copied and of urging a division of responsibility for all other types on a regional and local level. The considerations relative to filming foreign papers continued along the lines previously mentioned of working with and through ARL and developing the data to facilitate a cooperative project for Soviet and East European newspapers.<sup>105</sup>

During 1953, the Library policy on acquiring domestic newspapers was crystallized in an acquisitions policy statement issued in February restating the 1952 preliminary formulation. This statement added that papers for the permanent collection would ordinarily be limited to those published in the state capital and those urban centers of population most characteristic of varied phases of local life, but, whenever distinguishable, to include notable examples—such as the *Emporia Gazette* (Emporia, Kans.) in the days of William Allen White—of the journalism of smaller and more agrarian communities. The Library, moreover, would attempt by such means as would be practicable to encourage every locality to collect, preserve, and make available the papers published in it. In the case of papers published before 1870 selected for its permanent collections, the Library would endeavor to secure files in their original form. In the case of newspapers published thereafter the Library would attempt to secure reproductions on microfilm or some other substance of permanent composition. None of this, of course, precluded acceptance of current papers that did not meet the selection criteria but were offered without charge by the publisher, provided the Library had the facilities to handle them and it was understood that permanent retention could not be guaranteed.<sup>106</sup> Similarly, in September 1955 the policy governing foreign newspapers was issued, stating that the Library would acquire for its permanent collections current newspapers from each politically independent foreign area and from the more important politically dependent foreign ter-

ritories and possessions. These would be selected to provide the most complete coverage of events and to represent the principal political, economic, and social viewpoints in their areas, although comprehensive acquisition of current newspapers from individual foreign areas for temporary use to meet important demands was not precluded. Current foreign newspapers acquired for retention in the permanent collections were to be on microfilm only, except in those instances where reader demand clearly justified retention of an additional set in bound form. Foreign newspapers of secondary importance might be acquired only on microfilm whenever such microfilm could be obtained from outside sources with reasonable promptness. Newspapers of primary importance—usually restricted to two or three from each foreign area—would be acquired in the original form even though also available on microfilm. Finally, the policy application was to be guided by a caveat that the Library's decision to retain files would be reviewed from time to time in the light of the availability of files of these newspapers in other libraries in the United States.<sup>167</sup>

Further, the ALA Committee on Cooperative Microfilm Projects, with a Library of Congress representative as a member, concentrated in 1952 and 1953 on developing a program to preserve American newspapers of the woodpulp period. Under the committee's auspices a list of important papers in each state not already filmed was compiled and published by the Microfilm Clearing House at the Library in 1953. Copies were distributed to state library associations, historical societies, and other state agencies with an appeal that they cooperate in the filming of the papers of their states that were listed.

In 1953, ARL set up a new Committee on Cooperative Access to Newspapers and Other Serials on which the Library of Congress also had a representative. The committee immediately began preparation of a selected list of foreign newspapers that should be microfilmed, and it commenced exploring the possibility of cooperative purchase arrangements on a pooled basis with deposit in a central repository. In a related development, the Pan-American Union issued in the same year a *Union List of Latin American Newspapers in the United States*, compiled by Arthur S. Gropp, as a basis for a co-

operative program involving current and older papers.<sup>168</sup>

During 1954 the Library prepared a working paper, "Current Foreign Newspapers Recommended for Cooperative Microfilming: A Preliminary List," recording 1,219 newspapers in priority order and containing rough estimates of cost for a plan that would guarantee the availability in the United States of at least one microcopy of each title.<sup>169</sup> In the same year, the Library issued a revised and expanded edition of the *Union List of Russian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian Newspapers, 1917-1953*, compiled by Paul Horecky and listing 859 newspapers issued within the boundaries of the present Soviet Union and held by American libraries. This publication had also, in its preliminary edition of a few years earlier, been designed as an aid to developing cooperative microfilming projects.<sup>170</sup> Using these lists as a basis, the Joint Committee on Slavic Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies recommended for filming several important Slavic titles and, supported by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, the Slavic and Central European Division compiled a record of holdings of these papers in selected libraries, using the Library of Congress files as a nucleus. A descriptive brochure was sent to 125 libraries throughout the world thought to be interested in a cooperative filming project or in acquiring such film. The response was so great that it seemed that nearly all titles could be filmed with enough subscribers to pay the cost of materials. By May 1955 the Photoduplication Service had filmed the Library's holdings and purchased films of missing issues needed to complete the files from other libraries.<sup>171</sup> The entire project, 13 titles, was completed in 1956.<sup>172</sup>

Meanwhile, in 1955 a survey of current receipts of foreign titles was commenced to apply the newly issued Acquisitions Policy Statement 37, with the result that a few titles were added from European countries, some were dropped, and several were added for Africa, for a net decrease of 30 foreign titles retained permanently.<sup>173</sup> The survey was continued the next year and the review of Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean area was completed.<sup>174</sup>

During the same period, collections of unbound Southeast Asian, Far Eastern, and Near Eastern newspapers that had been accumulated over

some years were reviewed, sorted, and arranged for microfilming to prevent further deterioration.<sup>175</sup> This effort was followed in 1963 and 1964 by the development of cooperative projects to film Indian, Pakistani, and United Arab Republic newspapers under the Public Law 480 program. Under this arrangement the negative and one lending positive are deposited at CRL, which lends these films to nonmember as well as member libraries. As the P.L. 480 program has expanded and contracted, the arrangements for filming newspapers have varied. Some of the titles are filmed in the countries of origin and some are accumulated in the Library's overseas offices and shipped to the Photoduplication Service for filming.<sup>176</sup>

Thus by 1963 the present-day newspaper program had crystallized, becoming in that year almost completely a microfilming operation. True, the Library still receives around 50,000 to 75,000

issues of current newspapers from all sources each month, but only a diminishing handful of titles are bound and all of these are also acquired on microfilm.

Among the most significant of the more recent developments in the management of the Library's newspaper collection has been the inauguration in 1975 of a cataloging program under which each title will be given full bibliographical treatment. Heretofore, the Library of Congress has not attempted to catalog newspapers, nor have many other libraries. Under this program the Serial Division, in cooperation with elements of the Processing Department, will develop the data and make them available in several formats—e.g., printed cards and MARC-Serials tapes. Work has begun on U.S. domestic titles now in the collection and will proceed to include foreign titles.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Comparison of size of newspaper holdings of libraries is difficult because of the lack of uniformity in reporting. Basically, libraries differ widely in their definitions of newspapers. Over a long period the same library may change its criteria several times but not consistently apply them retroactively, as has occurred with the Library of Congress. Nonetheless, data are available to permit the reader to have some appreciation of the relative size of the Library of Congress collection. As examples: the British Museum reports (letter to the author from the superintendent, British Museum Newspaper Library, dated June 21, 1973) between 60,000 and 70,000 titles, approximately 400,000 volumes, and about 45,000 reels of microfilm but includes gazettes and many news magazines and other general periodicals that the Library of Congress treats as serials and catalogs, binds, and places in its classified collection. The Lenin State Library in Moscow (letter to the author from the director, Lenin State Library, dated August 14, 1973) states that it has 45,000 titles, 2 million volumes, and 10,000 reels of microfilm. The Bibliothèque nationale of France (letter to the author from the chief librarian, Periodicals Department, Bibliothèque nationale, dated July 9, 1973) indicates that it keeps around 40,000 titles and receives currently 1,000 titles. Its permanent collection consists of 1,500 titles, all French, in a total of 27,000 bound volumes; the remainder of the collection is unbound and stored in boxes. It also has 160 titles on 10,000 reels of microfilm. The New York Public Library has 22,000 volumes and 47,000 reels, but the number of titles is not available.

In 1901, Allan B. Slauson, then chief of the Periodical Division, submitted to Librarian Herbert Putnam "A Check List of American Newspapers in the Library of Congress," which listed some 3,500 titles. Examination reveals, however, that he included several hundred titles now classed as general, literary, religious, or financial periodicals, among which were *Collier's Weekly*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, and several of Frank Leslie's magazines. Using today's criteria, only 389 titles listed were newspapers.

<sup>2</sup> Clarence S. Brigham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers*, vol. 1 (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1947), p. xi.

<sup>3</sup> William Dawson Johnston, *History of the Library of Congress, 1800-1864*, vol. 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), pp. 17-20; David C. Mearns, *The Story Up to Now: The Library of Congress, 1800-1946* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1947), pp. 1-3.

<sup>4</sup> *Catalogue of the Books, Maps, and Charts Belonging to the Library Established in the Capitol at the City of Washington, for the Two Houses of Congress: To Which Are Prefixed the Statutes and Bye Laws Relative to That Institution* (Washington City: A. and G. Way, printers, 1808), p. 40.

<sup>5</sup> *Catalogue of Books, Maps, and Charts Belonging to the Library Established in the Capitol at the City of Washington, for the Two Houses of Congress: To Which Are Prefixed the Statutes and Bye-Laws Relative to That Institution* (Washington City: Roger C. Weightman, 1812), p. 93.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100.

<sup>7</sup> National Archives, Record Group 128 (Senate), Various Joint Committees, Box 1; *Senate Journal*, 1st Congress, 1st Session, pp. 27–28.

<sup>8</sup> Library of Congress, Newspaper Subscription Book, 1825–40, Manuscript Division.

<sup>9</sup> *Catalogue of the Library of the United States* (Washington: Printed by Jonathan Elliot, 1815), p. 26.

<sup>10</sup> Johnston, *Library of Congress, 1800–1864*, p. 156.

<sup>11</sup> *Catalogue of the Library of Congress, in December, 1830, a Supplement of the Additions in December, 1831; and an Index to the Names of Authors and Annotators, and to the Publications of Learned Societies, to Encyclopedias, Newspapers, Reviews, Magazines, etc.* (Washington: Printed by Duff Green, 1831), pp. 65–66, 179. Even though the catalogs from 1812 to 1861 had supplements purporting to list all gazettes or newspapers separately, none after 1812 in fact did. For example, in both the 1830 and 1840 catalogs, *Journal des Débats* is listed in chapter 24 among legislative materials but it is in the index to the 1840 *Catalogue* as a foreign newspaper. The *London Gazette* is similarly treated in these lists, but in the 1861 catalog this title appears in the list of newspapers where *Journal des Débats* is not included. During the early 1920's official gazettes were removed from the newspaper collection.

<sup>12</sup> Johnston, *Library of Congress, 1800–1864*, p. 346.

<sup>13</sup> *Catalogue of the Library of Congress, in the Capitol of the United States of America, December, 1839* (City of Washington: Printed by order of Congress, by Lang and O'Sullivan, 1840), pp. 69, 106–9, 731–32.

<sup>14</sup> *Catalogue of the Library of Congress, June 30, 1849* (Washington, 1849), pp. 1,021–22. The 1849 catalog is interesting because in all copies examined the last page, 1,022, ended in the middle of the alphabetical newspaper list. If the pattern of the 1831 and 1840 catalogs had been followed there should have been additional pages not only completing the list of newspapers but also supplying an index. A search of the Library's archives has thrown no light on the reason for the anomaly. The statistics on newspapers have, therefore, been arrived at by projecting from the 1840 catalog and the incomplete 1849 listing.

<sup>15</sup> Johnston, *Library of Congress, 1800–1864*, p. 278; Mearns, *The Story*, pp. 63–64; letter, John S. Meehan to Senator James Alfred Pearce, chairman, Joint Committee on the Library, January 7, 1852, from Library of Congress Miscellany, 1802–1887–1900–1951, 1 box, Manuscript Division.

<sup>16</sup> Johnston, *Library of Congress, 1800–1864*, pp. 346–47; *Catalogue of the Library of Congress* (City of Washington: Lemuel Towers, printer, 1861), p. 1,398.

<sup>17</sup> Annual Report of the Librarian (unpublished), December 16, 1861, from Library of Congress Mis-

cellany, 1802–1887–1900–1951, 1 box, Manuscript Division.

<sup>18</sup> Letter, Joseph Henry to Samuel F. Haven, American Antiquarian Society Correspondence, Smithsonian Institution.

<sup>19</sup> Letter, December 5, 1860, Joseph Henry to Samuel F. Haven, American Antiquarian Society Archives; *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1860 (Washington: George Bowman, printer, 1861), p. 52; *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society . . . Annual Meeting . . .*, October 22, 1860 (Boston: Printed by John Wilson and Son, 1860), pp. 25–29.

<sup>20</sup> Extracts from the Minutes of the Joint Committee on the Library, 1861–1898, Box 59A, LC Archives, Manuscript Division.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> *Annual Report of the Librarian of Congress for the Year 1866* (Washington, 1866), p. 4.

<sup>23</sup> *Special Report of the Librarian of Congress to the Joint Committee on the Library Concerning the Historical Library of Peter Force, Esq.* (Washington, 1867), p. 5. The Librarian's annual report for 1901, p. 191, states that the collection included 350 volumes of early American newspapers.

<sup>24</sup> *Special Report . . . on . . . the Historical Library of Peter Force*, p. 4.

<sup>25</sup> *Annual Report of the Librarian, 1901*, p. 190; Henry Stevens, *Benjamin Franklin's Life and Writings: A Bibliographical Essay on the Stevens Collection of Books and Manuscripts Relating to Doctor Franklin* (London, 1881), p. 22.

<sup>26</sup> *Annual Report of the Librarian, 1867*, p. 4.

<sup>27</sup> American Antiquarian Society, Miscellaneous Correspondence.

<sup>28</sup> Wisconsin State Historical Society, Draper Papers.

<sup>29</sup> 16 Stat. 212.

<sup>30</sup> Frederick Hudson, *Journalism in the United States* (New York, 1873), p. 723.

<sup>31</sup> Extracts From the Minutes of the Joint Committee on the Library, 1861–1898, Box 59A, LC Archives, Manuscript Division.

<sup>32</sup> *Annual Report of the Librarian, 1901*, p. 191.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 1875, p. 7.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 1871, pp. 4–6.

<sup>35</sup> *Report of the Joint Committee on the Library of Congress*, 44th Congress, 1st Session, Senate Report no. 387, p. 2.

<sup>36</sup> *Annual Report of the Librarian, 1883*, pp. 4–6.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 1884, p. 5.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 1886, p. 5.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 1887, p. 5.

<sup>40</sup> Letter, A. B. Slauson, chief, Department of Periodicals, to John Russell Young, Librarian, October 1, 1897. Typescript from files of the Librarian, Putnam Archives, Central Services Division.

# THE New - York Weekly JOURNAL

Containing the freshest Advices, Foreign, and Domestic.

MUNDAY November 15th, 1734

To all my Subscribers and Benefactors  
who take my weekly Journall.

Gentlemen, Ladies and Others;

**A**S you last week were Dis-  
appointed of my Journall,  
I think it Incumbent up-  
on me, to publish my  
Apology which is this.

On the Lords Day, the Seventeenth  
of this Instant, I was Arrested, taken  
and Imprisoned in the common Goal  
of this City, by Virtue of a Warrant  
from the Governour, and the Hono-  
rable Francis Harrison, Esq; and others  
in Council of which (God willing)  
yo'l have a Coppy, whereupon I was  
put under such Restraint that I had  
not the Liberty of Pen, Ink, or Paper,  
or to see, or speak with People, till  
upon my Complaint to the Honourable  
the Chief Justice, at my appearing  
before him upon my *Habias Corpus* on  
the Wednesday following, Who dis-  
countenanced that Proceeding, and  
therefore I have had since that Time,  
the Liberty of Speaking through the  
Hole of the Door, to my Wife and  
Servants by which I doubt not yo'l  
think me sufficiently Excused for not  
sending my last weeks Journall, and  
I hope for the future by the Liberty of  
Speaking to my Servants thro' the  
Hole of the Door of the Prison, to  
entertain you with my weekly Journall  
as formerly.

And am your obliged  
Humble Servant,  
J. Peter Zenger.

Mr. Zenger;

AS the Liberty of the Press is justly  
esteemed and universally acknowl-  
edged by Englishmen, to be the grand  
Paladium of all their Liberties, which  
Liberty of the Press, I have rejoiced  
to see well defended in Sundry of  
your Papers, and particularly by your  
No. 2. 3. 10. 11. 15. 16. 17. 18.  
24. & 54. and by an anonymous  
Authors Observations on the chief  
Justices Charge of January last; now,  
for as much as it may not only be of  
present Use, but of future Advantage,  
that such Matters of Fact, that con-  
cern the Liberty of the Press, may  
be faithfully recorded and transmitted  
to Posterity, therefore I have sent you  
a Detail of such particulars that con-  
cern the Liberty of the Press within  
this Colony; and because I would not  
have you or my self charged with the  
Publication of a Libel, I shall confine  
my self to a plain Narration of Facts  
without any comments.

On Tuesday the 15th of Octo. 1734.  
The supreme Court of New-York, be-  
gan, when the Honourable James De  
Lancey, Esq; Chief Justice charged  
the Grand Jury. The Conclusion of  
which Charge was as follows.

Gentlemen, I shall conclude with  
reading a Paragraph or two out of the  
same Book, & concerning Libels; they  
are arrived to that height, that they

- <sup>41</sup> *Annual Report of the Librarian*, 1897, pp. 7, 26.
- <sup>42</sup> The area including the offices along the entire east and south sides of the building.
- <sup>43</sup> *Annual Report of the Librarian*, 1901, pp. 248-49.
- <sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 249.
- <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 248.
- <sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 1916, p. 80.
- <sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 1901, pp. 325-26.
- <sup>48</sup> Allan B. Slauson, comp., *A Checklist of American Newspapers in the Library of Congress* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901).
- <sup>49</sup> *Annual Report of the Librarian*, 1901, p. 223.
- <sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 1897, pp. 49-50.
- <sup>51</sup> Annual Report of the Periodical Division to the Librarian of Congress, 1900-1901, pp. [12-13].
- <sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>53</sup> *Annual Report of the Librarian*, 1904, p. 24.
- <sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 1905, "Report of the Superintendent of Buildings and Grounds," p. 103.
- <sup>55</sup> *Annual Report of the Librarian*, 1908, p. 41.
- <sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 1910, p. 80.
- <sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 1915, p. 95.
- <sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 1919, p. 61.
- <sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 1917, p. 70; 1918, p. 61.
- <sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 1939, p. 226.
- <sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 1940, p. 188.
- <sup>62</sup> Annual Report of the Periodical Division to the Librarian, 1907, p. 3.
- <sup>63</sup> *Annual Report of the Librarian*, 1907, p. 49.
- <sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 1915, p. 95.
- <sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 1916, p. 81.
- <sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 1917, p. 69.
- <sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 1926, p. 144.
- <sup>68</sup> Memorandum, H. S. Parsons, acting chief, Periodical Division, to the Acting Librarian, "Newspaper Binding," May 27, 1927, Putnam Archives, Central Services Division.
- <sup>69</sup> *Annual Report of the Librarian*, 1926, p. 143.
- <sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 1928, p. 147.
- <sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 1914, p. 53.
- <sup>72</sup> 17 U.S.C. 1.
- <sup>73</sup> *Annual Report of the Librarian*, 1914, p. 48.
- <sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 1905, p. 71.
- <sup>75</sup> Annual Report of the Periodical Division to the Librarian, 1906, p. 7.
- <sup>76</sup> *Ibid.* Zenger's attorney, Andrew Hamilton, successfully pleaded against the rulings of the court for the admissibility of evidence as to the truth of an alleged libel and the right of a jury to determine whether its publication is defamatory or seditious, prin-

*First issue of the New-York Weekly Journal published by John Peter Zenger's wife and servants after he was arrested and held on charges of printing libels against the governor and council of New York.*

ciples not firmly established in either England or America until many years later. The immediate effect of the trial, which was given prominent notice throughout the colonies, was its great influence upon popular feeling as to the importance of the freedom of the press and upon the development of the concept of liberty in general. Although he was imprisoned without bail from his arrest on November 17, 1734, until his release on August 5, 1735, Zenger was granted the privilege of "speaking thro' the Hole of the Door of the Prison" to his wife and employees and thereby conducted the printing of his journal without interruption, except for one issue, between the arrest and arraignment on November 20. For a full account see Hudson, *Journalism*, p. 81ff.

Holt first came to notice in 1765, when, as the publisher of the *New York Gazette*, or, the *Weekly Post Boy*, he defied the Stamp Act by continuing to publish on unstamped paper. The file of the *New York Journal* referred to here contains issues giving prominence to colonial developments and dissatisfaction not only in New York but also in other colonies.

<sup>77</sup> *Annual Report of the Librarian*, 1914, p. 95. The *Newport Mercury* had been established in 1758 by the second James Franklin, nephew of Benjamin Franklin, with his uncle's financial support, although it was no longer in the family by 1773. Brigham, *American Newspapers*, 1: 997.

<sup>78</sup> *Annual Report of the Librarian*, 1912, "Report of the Superintendent of Buildings and Grounds," p. 114.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 1915, "Report of the Superintendent of Buildings and Grounds," p. 138.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 1925, p. 55.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 1926, p. 143.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 1932, pp. 172, 174.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 1914, p. 96.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 1918, p. 60.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 1919, p. 62; 1920, p. 72.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 1921, p. 61.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 1927, p. 145.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 1913, pp. 82-83.

<sup>89</sup> Annual Report of the Periodical Division to the Librarian, 1906, p. 7.

<sup>90</sup> *Annual Report of the Librarian*, 1925, p. 111.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 1923, p. 91.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 1928, p. 149.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 1933, p. 176; 1934, p. 214.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 1939, pp. 228-29.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 1927, p. 129.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 1928, p. 149.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 1927, p. 128.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 1928, p. 146.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 1929, p. 195.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 1930, p. 221.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 1931, p. 243; 1939, p. 226.

<sup>102</sup> Annual Report of the Periodical Division to the Librarian, 1906, p. 6.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 1907, p. 3; 1908, p. 2; *Annual Report of the Librarian*, 1907, p. 49.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., 1907, p. 50. One missing issue list was actually published: C. B. Guittard, comp., *Want List of American 18th Century Newspapers* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1909).

<sup>105</sup> Henry S. Parsons, comp., *A Check List of American Eighteenth Century Newspapers in the Library of Congress* (New ed., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1936), p. v.

<sup>106</sup> *Annual Report of the Librarian*, 1928, p. 211.

<sup>107</sup> Memorandum, the Librarian to the chief of the Periodical Division, the superintendent of the Reading Room, and the assistant in charge of binding, February 7, 1928, Putnam Archives, LC Central Services Division.

<sup>108</sup> Allan B. Slauson, comp., *A Check List of Foreign Newspapers in the Library of Congress* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), p. 5.

<sup>109</sup> John Van Ness Ingram, comp., *A Check List of American Eighteenth Century Newspapers in the Library of Congress* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912). Accounts of the development and significance of the early American newspaper collection are in Clyde S. Edwards, "American Eighteenth-Century Newspapers," *Quarterly Journal* 8, no. 1 (November 1950): 40-43, and Frederick R. Goff and Vincent L. Eaton, "Early Printed Books Relating to America, 1493-1801," *ibid.*, 34-36.

<sup>110</sup> Henry S. Parsons, comp., *A Check List of Foreign Newspapers in the Library of Congress* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1929), p. v.

<sup>111</sup> See note 105.

<sup>112</sup> *Annual Report of the Librarian*, 1937, p. 155.

<sup>113</sup> "Statement of Mr. Parsons re Check List of American Newspapers," February 29, 1940, Putnam Archives, Division Memoranda File, Central Services Division.

<sup>114</sup> Winifred Gregory, ed., *American Newspapers, 1821-1936: A Union List of Files Available in the United States and Canada* (New York: The H. W. Wilson Co., 1937).

<sup>115</sup> *Annual Report of the Librarian*, 1915, p. 99.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., 1921, p. 61; 1930, p. 221; 1940, p. 507.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 1940, p. 4.

<sup>118</sup> Charles G. LaHood, Jr., "The Serial Microfilm Program at the Library of Congress," *Library Resources and Technical Services* 10, no. 2 (Spring 1966), p. 242.

<sup>119</sup> *Annual Report of the Librarian*, 1929, p. 83.

<sup>120</sup> LaHood, "Serial Microfilm Program."

<sup>121</sup> *Annual Report of the Librarian*, 1938, p. 312.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., 1940, pp. 188-89, 192-94.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., 1941, p. 133.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., 1941, p. 191.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., 1942, p. 100.

<sup>126</sup> Memorandum from the chief, Periodicals Division, November 24, 1941; Putnam Archives, Division Memoranda File, LC Central Services Division.

<sup>127</sup> *Annual Report of the Librarian*, 1942, p. 12.

<sup>128</sup> See note 126.

<sup>129</sup> See note 126.

<sup>130</sup> *Annual Report of the Librarian*, 1942, p. 34; *Annual Report of the Serials Division to the Librarian*, 1951, pp. 3-4.

<sup>131</sup> *Annual Report of the Librarian*, 1943, p. 152; *Annual Report of the Periodicals Division to the Librarian*, 1943, p. 11.

<sup>132</sup> *Annual Report of the Librarian*, 1944, p. 2.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., 1945, p. 2.

<sup>134</sup> *Annual Report of the Serials Division to the Librarian*, 1945, p. 1; *Annual Report of the Librarian*, 1945, p. 36.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., 1950, pp. 5, 100.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., 1942, p. 99.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., 1947, pp. 136-37. More complete accounts of LC participation in the development of a national newspaper microfilming program are given in Faustine Dennis, "Microfilm," *Quarterly Journal* 6, no. 1 (November 1948): 25-27; Dan Lacy, "Microfilming as a Major Acquisitions Tool: Policies, Plans, and Problems," *Quarterly Journal* 6, no. 3 (May 1949): 8-17; Lester K. Born, "Microreproduction," *Quarterly Journal* 10, no. 1 (November 1952): 21-32.

<sup>138</sup> *Annual Report of the Librarian*, 1941, p. 191.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., 1942, p. 100.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., 1941, p. 131; 1945, p. 51; *Newspapers Currently Received and Permanently Retained in the Library of Congress* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1970), p. iv.

<sup>141</sup> *Annual Report of the Librarian*, 1939, p. 226; *Newspapers Currently Received and Permanently Retained in the Library of Congress* (1970), p. iv.

<sup>142</sup> *Annual Report of the Librarian*, 1951, p. 15.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., 1942, p. 100.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., 1946, p. 10.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., 1951, p. 64.

<sup>146</sup> *Annual Report of the Serial Division to the Librarian*, 1950, p. 17; 1954, p. 13.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., 1951, p. 18; 1952, p. 6.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., 1952, pp. 5-6. Volumes for which there are no takers are destroyed.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., 1954, p. 5; *Serial Division Trend Report*, June 1958; memoranda in files of Exchange and Gift Division, Library of Congress, 1958.

<sup>150</sup> *Annual Report of the Serial Division to the Librarian*, 1953, p. 15; 1958, p. 6.

- <sup>131</sup> Ibid., 1956, p. 6.
- <sup>132</sup> Ibid., 1963, pp. 3-4.
- <sup>133</sup> Ibid., 1961, p. 10 and Table A-8; 1963, Table A-8.
- <sup>134</sup> Ibid., 1954, p. 10.
- <sup>135</sup> Ibid., 1951, pp. 3-4, 20.
- <sup>136</sup> *Annual Report of the Librarian*, 1957, p. 30.
- <sup>137</sup> Ibid., 1942, pp. 190, 223.
- <sup>138</sup> Ibid., 1951, p. 34; *Newspapers Currently Received and Permanently Retained in the Library of Congress* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1968).
- <sup>139</sup> *Annual Report of the Librarian*, 1951, p. 34.
- <sup>140</sup> Ibid., p. 63; 1954, p. 47.
- <sup>141</sup> *Annual Report of the Serials Division to the Librarian*, 1952, pp. 2-3, 6.
- <sup>142</sup> *Annual Report of the Librarian*, 1949, p. 138.
- <sup>143</sup> *Annual Report of the Serials Division to the Librarian*, 1951, p. 4.
- <sup>144</sup> *Annual Report of the Librarian*, 1965, p. 64.
- <sup>145</sup> Ibid., 1952, pp. 39, 56; Born, "Microreproduction," passim.
- <sup>146</sup> LC Acquisitions Policy Statement No. 36, "Newspapers-U.S.-Current; Newspapers-U.S.-Non-Current."
- <sup>147</sup> LC Acquisitions Policy Statement No. 37, "Newspapers-Foreign-Current."
- <sup>148</sup> *Annual Report of the Librarian*, 1953, p. 22.
- <sup>149</sup> Ibid., 1954, p. 17.
- <sup>150</sup> Ibid., p. 47.
- <sup>151</sup> Ibid., 1955, p. 40.
- <sup>152</sup> Ibid., 1956, p. 54.
- <sup>153</sup> *Annual Report of the Serials Division to the Librarian*, 1955, pp. 5-6.
- <sup>154</sup> Ibid., 1956, pp. 3-4; *Annual Report of the Librarian*, 1956, p. 9.
- <sup>155</sup> Ibid., 1952, p. 82; 1953, p. 42; 1957, pp. 26-27.
- <sup>156</sup> Ibid., 1963, pp. 67-68.



A Note on the Librarian-Author of



. . . merito ergo Bartolemeus  
Platyna, magna sue lux et decus ille Cremonae,  
Sacchorum veteri ac generoso sanguine natus  
munificaque manu nature ornatus et artis,  
preficitur tante sub Sixto bibliothecae. . .

Robert Flemmyng.  
*Lucubranciunculae Tiburtinae* (1477)

Praise is due Bartolomeo Platina,  
The glory and dignity of his native Cremona,  
Born of the old and generous house of Sacci,  
Richly adorned both by nature and his learning,  
Made prefect of the great Sistine library. . .

Five hundred years ago the Italian humanist Bartolomeo Platina published the first cookbook and was appointed Vatican librarian (recent scholarship says the first).<sup>1</sup> These events apparently followed one another in rapid succession. On February 18, 1475, Platina became Pope Sixtus IV's librarian; the papal library was in effect institutionalized as the Biblioteca in Vaticano pubblicata by the bull *Ad decorem militantis Ecclesiae* of June 15, 1475. What is accepted as the first edition of Platina's cookbook, the *De honesta voluptate*, is ascribed to 1475. A copy is in the National Library of Medicine. A copy of the second edition, dated June 13,

---

Leonard N. Beck is curator of special collections in the Rare Book Division.

**POMP AND CIRCUMSTANCE:** The procession of domestics serving the cardinals assembled in conclave to elect a new pope is preceded by a mace bearer. The food is kept hot within the credenzas. At the table, two carvers present the food for the approval of the four "tasters."

the First Cookbook

by Leonard N. Beck

1475, is in the John Boyd Thacher collection in the Library of Congress.

In the current jubilee year of the Roman Catholic Church all members of the library community and indeed of the world of learning will join in according Platina the praise demanded by the *Lucubranciunculae Tiburtinae* of Robert Flemyng, an English humanist attached to the papal curia. Truly and well have Platina and his successors at the Vatican realized the Sistine vision of a library "ad utilitatem omnium tam aetatis nostrae quam posteritatis litteratorum hominum"—for the use of all men of letters of future ages as well as of our own.

While conceding freely that the cookbook is one of literature's minor genres, this note proposes to repair Robert Flemyng's failure also to claim for Platina the praise due the author of the first cookbook. Minor literature needs no justification. As A. E. Housman, himself possibly not quite a great poet, said in his lecture *On the Name and Nature of Poetry*, "When I am drinking *Barolo stravecchio* in Turin, I am not disturbed, nor even visited, by the reflexion that there is better wine in Dijon."<sup>2</sup> Minor wines, minor poets, minor literary genres, like beauty, are their own excuse for being. In the *Petit Dictionnaire de Cuisine* Alexandre Dumas explains that the discovery of a new dish is more important than the discovery of a new star—for what man can do with stars he has enough already. Surely praise is due Bartolomeo Platina for the discovery of a whole new literary genre, the book about dishes!

### Platina's Culinary Heritage

In the paeans for the author of the first cookbook the voice of the Library of Congress perhaps should be heard raised above all others. The recipes in his Books VI through X, in which Platina concentrates the purely culinary aspects of *De honesta voluptate*, are directly translated from a manuscript now in the Library's Katherine Golden Biting Memorial Collection on Gastronomy. Like other treasures in that collection, this manuscript, the "Libro de arte coquinaria" of Maestro Martino, is not well known because it is not recorded in Mrs. Biting's *Gastronomic Bibliography* (San Francisco: 1939). There exist today two manuscripts of Maestro

Once a fresco in the Vatican library, now preserved on canvas in the Pinacoteca, this depiction of Platina's assumption of the post of librarian by Melozzo da Forlì is dated 1477. Bernard Berenson has said "For Melozzo the figure was never impassive, never an end in itself, but always a means for embodying emotion" (*The Italian Painters of the Renaissance*, London: Phaidon Press, 1952, p. 111). The pope's nephews, the figures standing in the background, seem to show the lust for power which history attributes to them. Perhaps Melozzo meant his Platina to convey the man's pride in his achievement on this day of his vindication (see detail below). Photograph by the Vatican Museums.



Martino's work. Joseph Vehling, a collector who saw both, dated the Biting copy as about 1450-60, making it the senior by perhaps 75 years.<sup>3</sup> It is within the realm of possibility that the Martino manuscript which Platina had before him is that now in the Biting Collection. Platina did not use the "Libro de arte coquinaria" as the takeoff point for a humanistic jeu d'esprit; he translated



LIBRO DE ARTE COQUINARIA  
COMPOSTO PER LO ELEGIO  
MAESTRO  
MARTINO COOVO OLIM DEL  
REVERENDISS MONSIGNOR  
CAMORLENG  
ET PATRIARCHA DE AQVILEIA.

**P**er dare al viscedor qual carne meria  
andare arrosto: di quale allesto: Carne  
piu to de bone, or de rassa uolo offer allesto:  
Carne de vicello, zio e il posto dauana, e  
bone allesto, or la lonza arrosto, or la cotta  
in palato: Carne de castoreo cueta e bo-  
na allesto, saluo la spalla, et e bona arrosto  
et oradio la cotta: Carne de porco non e  
fara in nullo modo, per la febrina uolo  
offer arrosto qti, e: fritto con capelle, or il  
rosto per salant, o come ripieno: Carne de  
capretto, e: cueta bona allesto, or arrosto:  
ma la parte de drieto, e: meglio arrosto:  
similamente, e: agnello: Carne de capra  
e bona del mato de fermare con la agliata:  
de la carne del ceruo la parte de nante, e  
bona in brodo lardieri, l'olante se potra far  
arrosto, or la cotta per bone in pastello feto  
e: in palato: similmente, e: bona la car-  
ne del capriolo: Carne de porco saluata  
uolo offer in peporata, o in riuere, o in  
brodo lardieri: Carne de lepore, e: cueta.

Bone.  
vaca.  
vicello.  
Castoreo.  
Porco.  
capretto.  
Agnello.  
Capra.  
ceruo.  
Capriolo.  
Porco saluato.  
Lepore.

THE MARTINO MANUSCRIPT: Manuscript on paper, 21.5 cm x 13.5 cm, in contemporary binding: stamped calf on wooden boards, wormed, clasps gone. Two blank sheets, manuscript begins with the page illustrated, continues on 65 sheets, numbered in pencil by a modern hand. Eighteen blank sheets at end. The writing is in a fine humanistic hand. The initials, marginal titles, and chapter titles are in red. Some of the titles have not been completed by the rubricator. On verso of the second sheet, in a 15th-century hand, is written "Liber mej. Raphaeli Baldeli." Note by J. D. Vehling reads "Alium Martin exemplarum, scriptum ca. MDXXT, inter libros Baron Pichon videmus."

Text begins: "To know which meats are to be roasted and which boiled." The medieval cook boiled many meats before roasting and larded them to ensure tenderness. The toughness of the meat explains the prevalence of phrases like "smite hemme into gobbets" or "ramme hemme upp" in medieval English culinary literature.

it, and translated it very closely. The debt is honorably acknowledged, Platina saying "Ye immortal gods, what cook can surpass my Martino of Como, from whom I have taken nearly all of what I write."

All that is known about Maestro Martino is to be read in the heading of the "Libro de arte coquinaria": "formerly cook to the Most Reverend Father the Papal Camerlengo and Cardinal of Aquilea." This little implies much. Martino's employer was the papal treasurer Cardinal Ludovico Trevisan, a man of war who led military campaigns in person with the cold ferocity of a captain of condottiere. His displays of wealth, including, according to a contemporary, the maintenance of a "table for sybarites, costing more than 20 ducats daily," won for him the not entirely admiring title of "Cardinal Lucullus." It can be assumed that Maestro Martino possessed the talent for detail, the downright administrative genius, required to watch the table, the kitchen, the guests, the servants, and, above all, his terrible employer. It is to be hoped that "Cardinal Lucullus" ate with an understanding worthy of the intelligence he demanded from his cook.

Unlike the disorderly Latin culinary manuscripts associated with the name of Apicius, the work of Maestro Martino is neatly divided into chapters. In the first he talks of meat of all kinds and in the second of some rather variegated broths and stews. He goes on to condiments and sauces and then to pastries, pies, and torten. In the fifth chapter fried foods and eggs appear, and a discussion of fish concludes the manuscript. Of Martino's 250 recipes about 240 reappear in Platina, often in the same order. Platina's own contribution includes about a dozen additional articles on fish and, most interestingly, another two dozen on cereals and vegetables. Leonardo da Vinci, who professed a vegetarianism that was more honored in the breach than in the observance, had a 1487 Italian edition of Platina in his library. Book VII of that copy answers the question as to the vegetable dishes on which this our Leonardo "doth feed, that he is grown so great." Unfortunately, Leonardo's reference to Platina's vegetable recipes in the Windsor manuscripts does not permit us to ascertain whether he meant Platina's additions or those originating with Martino.

Maestro Martino continues the classic Roman tradition of *pultes*, *patinae*, and *minutalia*—potages, stews, and minced meats. The modern reader who may reproach Martino for his sweet-and-sour combinations and his meat purées possibly rejoices in today's Balkan cuisine without realizing that its techniques are those of the kitchen of imperial Rome. The besetting culinary sin of the early Renaissance was its abhorrence of the simple. Chaucer rightly complains: "These cookes, how they stampe and streyne, and grynde/And turnen substaunce into accident," that is, change the essential core of something into outward forms that are inherently false. But it is also true that it was not long ago that cooks like Escoffier and gourmets like Curnonsky had to fight very hard for the principle that things should have the taste of what they are. We are reading Maestro Martino's "Libro" for history, but it can also be read for pleasure, like any other good cookbook. Turning pages casually, you light on recipes for parsnip, sage, and elderflower fritters, pancakes sprinkled with honey, toasted breadcrumbs and caviar, mushrooms simmered with spices, chops baked with nuts, or poached eggs served with green sauce. This bread-and-mint-sauce combination is undoubtedly that which Ben Jonson meant in *The Staple of News* when he called for "an exquisite and poignant sauce, for which I'll say unto my cook, 'there's gold, go forth and be a knight.'"

To assay the technical stature of the "Libro de arte coquinaria," Emilio Faccioli,<sup>4</sup> whose *Arte della cucina* reprints the Biting manuscript in its entirety, has confronted it with the other culinary manuscripts of the period. He thinks it more mature, that is, more coherent in methodology and more concerned with the milieu in which food is prepared and eaten, and finds in it "a sensitivity which occasionally goes beyond simple gustatory and olfactory data to touch upon the plastic values of culinary practice, on the rapport which exists between foods and utensils used in their preparation, the preparations themselves and the effects they are intended to produce."

For a professional like Martino, Carême, or Escoffier, cooking exists as an ensemble of practical operations that must take place in precise accordance with the rhythm set by the nature of the foods themselves and the requirements of

service. In a meaningful sense, therefore, Maestro Martino's manuscript is an early manifestation of the spirit of technology, the pride of homo faber in his competence, that is probably always present but was rarely expressed in literature before this time. Insofar as Platina repeats Maestro Martino, his is a technical book antedating those of Bernard Palissy and the others to whom the praise of Ecclesiasticus can be applied: "All these trust in their hands and each one is wise in his work."

### The Rise of Bartolomeo Platina

Although little is known about many important areas of Platina's life, in the large it is a familiar story of the humanist enraptured by classical learning, against a background of the upward mobility possible for the talented during the Renaissance and the centrality of the scholar's dependence on patronage. This sketch will illustrate the life by reference to the writings, on the authority of Goethe's dictum that "Leben und Werke sind eins."

He was born Bartolomeo Sacchi in 1421 of an obscure family, later taking the name Platina from his birthplace, Piadena, near Cremona in the Lombard plains. We also know that Platina served four years as a soldier in the troops of the warlords Sforza and Picconini, but how the young soldier found his way to the schools of Mantua and became tutor to the children of Marchese Ludovico Gonzaga are mysteries explicable only by his possession of extraordinary talents and motivation. When he left Mantua in 1457 to study Greek in Florence, Platina brought with him letters of recommendation from Ludovico to Cosimo de' Medici. His knowledge of Greek admitted Platina into the circle of the great and good Cardinal Johannes Bessarion, whose manuscript collection, willed to St. Mark's, is the source for many of the Aldine editiones principes. Later, in 1472, Platina was to deliver the funeral eulogy of Cardinal Bessarion.

In 1462 Platina came to Rome in the entourage of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga, son of Ludovico. Through the cardinal's influence with the newly elected pope, the humanist Pius II, he was permitted to buy a sinecure in the Collegio degli abbreviaturi, recently organized in the papal curia. The college's ostensible function was to provide a kind of editorial service; in practice



In hoc volumine hec continentur.

Platynę de vitis mari. ponti. Historia pericunda: Diligenter re-  
cognita: nunc tantum integre impressa.  
Raphaellis Holaterrani historia. De vita quattuor: Dari. ponti.  
nuper edita: et in fine posita.  
Platynę de falso et vero bono Dialogus. ad Sixtū. iiii. pōti. mari.  
Platynę contra amores Dialogus. ad Lodouicum Seclam man-  
nuanum.  
Platynę de vera nobilitate Dialogus. ad amplissimum Arsinum  
Tranensem episcopum.  
Platynę de optimo cive Dialogus. ad Laurētium medicū.  
Platynę Panegyricus in laudem Reuerendiss. Cardinalis Vice-  
ni: et patriarche Constantinopolitani.  
Inuēto: in academiconum panegyricū. in Platynę parentalia.

Bartolomeo Platina, In hoc volumine hec continentur  
(Venetiis: Impressum per Gulielmum de Fontaneto,  
1518).

The works of Platina contained in this volume are  
touched on briefly in the accompanying text. The last  
item listed is a group of elegies read on his death.

it seems to have been a mechanism for subsidizing deserving humanists. When Paul II succeeded Pius and reorganized the college out of existence, the old soldier in Platina came to the fore. He demanded audiences and wrote letters threatening Paul with the wrath of all Christendom assembled in council to revenge this wrong done to scholars. As a result he spent four months in a papal prison, from which he was released only by the intervention of Cardinals Gonzaga and Bessarion.

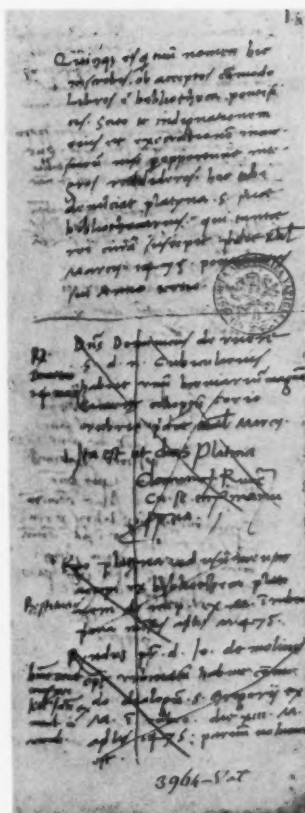
This was the first of Platina's two prison terms. The second incarceration in Sant'Angelo (February 1468–May 1469) came about because of his association with Pomponius Leto and others belonging to a half-social, half-literary group known as the Accademia romana. Whether the impieties of these men, their jeers at priestly pomp, their Miniver Cheevy-like nostalgia for republican Rome actually constituted the conspiracy of which Paul II accused them might be questioned. Perhaps a modern sociologist would see these littérateurs and scholars as a marginal elite, at once arrogant in "in-group" consciousness and frightened by their dependence on the power center. It is clear that Pomponius Leto and Platina did not behave very well in this affair. The 19th-century church historian Ludwig Pastor commented on "the touching unanimity" with which they agreed on imputing all possible blame to the one member of the academy who had succeeded in fleeing the country.<sup>5</sup> The French say: "Les absents ont toujours tort."

Written in prison, Platina's *De vero ac falso bono* when published was dedicated to Pope Sixtus IV, but the colophon indicates that it was first offered to Paul II in propitiation. The historians of Italian literature place this work in the medieval tradition of the "consolations of philosophy" but think it relieved from mediocrity by a passage praising the mind of man, which seems unable to tolerate error but seeks it out everywhere to destroy it. Platina's *De principe*, completed in 1471 and dedicated to a Gonzaga, is sometimes mentioned in the literature about Machiavelli because of its advocacy of a standing military force. The setting for another political pamphlet, *De optimo cive*, is the Medicean court. Coming one day to visit Lorenzo, Platina finds with him Cosimo de' Medici, whom Lo-

renzo persuades to talk about the active public life which the good citizen chooses to lead. Moral works like *De vera nobilitate* and *Contra amores*, which today seem collections of commonplaces, probably were not so regarded in their time, the former, for example, making the revolutionary assertion that nobility is not birth, but the effulgence radiated by inner virtue.

Platina's first effort at history, *Historia Mantuae*, written for the Gonzagas about 1469, is usually summarily rejected by the historians. Cardinal Bartolomeo della Rovere, to whom Platina was to dedicate *De honesta voluptate* in 1475, praised this narrative in a letter to Ludovico Gonzaga as the equal of Caesar's *Commentaries*. To paraphrase the demolition of a similar absurdity executed by the Cambridge classicist Richard Porson: "The Mantuan History will be remembered when Caesar's *Commentaries* are forgotten—but not until then." Platina is taken more seriously as a historian for his biographies of the popes, the *De vitis pontificum*, translated many times into many languages. His sardonic delight in depicting the contradictions between appearance and reality is so obvious that Pastor wondered whether Sixtus had ever really read *De vitis*. While no friend of Platina, Pastor concedes "the graphic descriptions, the elegant, perspicacious, and yet concise style of the work."

If Platina's appointment to the papal librarianship was a patronage plum in return for *De vitis*, obviously his personal pride demanded that he fill his post with distinction. On February 18, 1475, the very day of his appointment, he began a register of manuscript loans in which he was careful to include his own borrowings. The bull of June 15, 1475, giving him a fixed salary and additional staff also charged him with inventorying the manuscripts and making whatever repairs were necessary. Platina must have begun the inventory well before the promulgation of the decree, because on June 18 he signed such a list to indicate his assumption of custodial responsibility. Six days after the opening of the fourth and last of the rooms in which the Vatican Library was first housed, that is, on September 20, 1481, Platina died. He would not wish his career to be summarized without noting that he gave his library a permanent physical location and increased its holdings from 2,527 manuscripts to 3,498.



Vatican, Biblioteca vaticana, I due primi registri di prestito della Biblioteca apostolica vaticana . . . a cura di Maria Bertolà (Citta del Vaticano: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1932). Facsimile in the Library of Congress. Original in the Vatican Library.

Platina's name appears twice on the first page of this register of loans. In the first paragraph he threatens to denounce to the pope those who do not return manuscripts in good time and unharmed. The third block records one of his own borrowings: "I Platina for my own use have taken from the library Plato's Republic. . . ." The diagonal slashes mark the transaction as completed—the manuscript has been "restitutus."

PLATYNAE DE HONESTA VOLVPTATE:  
ET VALITVDINE AD AMPLISSIMVM AC  
DOCTISSIMVM D. B. ROVERELLAM S. CLE  
MENTIS PRAESBITERVM CARDINALEM  
LIBER PRIMVS.

RRABVNT Et quidem vehementer Ampli/  
sime pater, B. Roverella qui hanc nostram su/  
scepcionem nequaquam dignam quae tuo nomini  
ascenderetur putarint: & voluptatis & valitu/  
dinis titulum praeferat. Vex quoniam mihi atque omnibus  
eruditis spectata sit ingenii tui vis: & acumen meum: &  
honestissimae vitae constantia: doctrinae ac eruditionis ma/  
gnitudo: malis te inguliat: meae patrimonii ac iudicii  
siquid perverte scriptum fuit facere: quod alium quempiam.  
Instabit acriter malevoli (sic scio): de voluptate ad vi/  
tutem optatum & continentissimum non fuisse scriben/  
dum. Sed dicant quapropter si stultitiae: qui elatis supercilii  
non de vi sed de nominum uocibus tantummodo diu/  
dicant: quid in ali in se habeat considerata voluptas: Est  
enim huius ut valetudinis vocabulum modum. De volu/  
ptate quam intemperantes & libidinosi ex huius & varie/  
tate ciborum: ex titillatione rerum uenerarum percipiunt.  
Ab his ut Platyna ad viam sanctissimam scribat. De illa vo/  
luptate quae ex continentia incutitur: & eam rerum quas huma/  
na natura appetit loquor. Neminem enim a diuini  
adeo libidinosum & incontinentem: qui non aliqua cau/  
geretur voluptate: nisi quando a rebus pluriq[ue] satis est coen/  
pitius declinatur. Valet apud hos (ut video) Ciceronis  
auctoritas: qui quidem ut Aristoteles Platonem: Pytha/  
goram: Zenonem: Democritum: Chrysippum: Parmeni/  
dem: Heraclitum: sic Epicurus legem & materiam eru/  
ditionis ac doctrinae suae facit: quo cum n. totius congre/

THE ARGUMENT FOR EPICURUS: "Most Reverend Father, they will be mistaken, indeed greatly mistaken, those who think this work of mine somehow unworthy to be dignified with your name because the words 'voluptas' and health head the title. . . . I know full well that some unsympathetic persons will criticize me, saying that I wish to encourage a life of ease and pleasure. But I say to those persons who are so stoic and full of pride as to voice judgment not on the basis of the experience of 'voluptas' but on the name alone what harm can there be in well-considered 'voluptas'? I speak of the 'voluptas' which is within the bounds of continent living and of those things which good human nature seeks. . . . (Bartolomeo Platina, *De honesta voluptate et valetudine*, Venice: Laurentius de Aquila and Sibyllinus UMBER, 13 June 1475).

### De honesta voluptate

The external facts of Platina's life suggest the meanings and values in whose terms he thought it amusing, worthwhile, or necessary to write a cookbook. By making a Toynbee-like sweep of history, it would be possible to generalize that every maturing civilization—the Chinese in the fifth century, the Muslim in the 11th and 12th, and the Western in the Italy of the 15th—gives its cuisine a formal structure and decorum. But can an author and his book be considered only as a symptom of something outside them? Perhaps more can be learned about Bartolomeo Platina the cookbook author by returning to Bartolomeo Platina the soldier-student from Lombardy who had associated himself with other humanists in Rome to express his ideas of the good life.

Lombard gluttony—and both Maestro Martino and Platina were Lombards—is a stock theme of Italian regional jokes, including one still current which may please bookmen. Apparently the 16th-century *Compagnia della lesina* originated the witticism calling the Lombard "a wolf who begins by eating fritters in folio, goes on to eating them in quartos, and ends by eating them in reams." Since the gastronomic guides say that the cuisine of Lombardy retains the imprint of the Gonzaga court, perhaps it is still possible to taste in Mantua today the origins of Platina's interest in food.

One of the crimes the humanist from Lombardy and his friends of the Accademia romana expiated in prison was that of being "sectarians of Epicurus." Whatever its makers meant by that charge, it is a thread to guide us through a labyrinth. These friends are known because Platina occasionally connects some of them with specific recipes in the course of *De honesta voluptate*. He names others when he breaks off his discussion in Book V of the expensive fowl dishes that seem reserved for the nouveaux riches to lament his inability to play the host to his friends properly. When in the *De honesta voluptate* of 1475 Platina invokes the friendships of 1467, he seems deliberately to repeat and accept the charge of Epicureanism. This defiant acceptance is further flaunted by his choice of a title and the challenging tone of his preface.

The title *De honesta voluptate* cannot be understood without reference to the Epicurean

doctrine of *voluptas*.<sup>6</sup> The most famous use of the Latin root in the Romance languages is in the refrain in Baudelaire's "L'Invitation au Voyage":

Là tout n'est qu'ordre et beauté  
Luxe, calme et volupté.

In damning one attempt at translation, T. S. Eliot pointed out that the most important of the five substantives in these lines is the first.<sup>7</sup> Platina's *honesta* is to *voluptas* as Baudelaire's *ordre* is to *volupté*. To translate Platina's first word as *honest*, *decent*, or *legitimate*, or his second as *voluptuousness*, *indulgence*, or *good living* is as far off the mark as to translate Horace's *aurea mediocritas* as *golden mediocrity*. For want of a translation perhaps we must be content with Edith Wharton's brief paraphrase of *volupté* (and hence *voluptas*) as "the intangible charm which the imagination extracts from tangible things."<sup>8</sup>

The difficulty in translation is caused by the fact that the one Latin word *voluptas* is used to denote what Epicurus meant by the two Greek words for pleasure and blessedness. The popular distortion of Epicurean doctrine against which Platina argues has come about because the first of these is not properly understood as being only a means to the second. Most of what Epicurus said about the pleasures of the stomach is reducible to the rhetorical question, "If food and drink are not pleasures, what are?" Friendship is another source of the pleasure that leads to blessedness, and, indeed, the meanings of *friendship* and *voluptas* are asserted to be inextricable. Platina would have thought of the Accademia romana in reading Epicurus' admonition, "Before thinking what you have to eat and drink seek around you with whom to eat and drink."

The preface of *De honesta voluptate* is addressed to Cardinal Bartolomeo della Rovere, once in the service of Cardinal Ludovico Trevisan, at whose table Platina may have met him. The cardinal's name should have been enough in itself to ward off the charge that Platina was advocating some kind of crass and sordid sensualism. The Florentine bookseller Vespasiano da Bisticci calls della Rovere an enemy of pomp and pride who, when he invited someone to dine, would sit down with him at the same table "without genuflections and fusses."<sup>9</sup> The passages

itantes: Ipsi ei hanc vitam diffundia fuit. De glorie hoc annotatum est: non congregari nisi plures in eadem sylva. Et si miscetur alienigena dimicando aut tuncere aut interire. Genitores praterea suos se nacta fessos insigni pietate alunt. Hybernæ quiete gaudent. Reconditi enim & hi cubant. Rursus æstus is, benevolent. Similis & mustela quies.

#### LIBER. V.

#### DE AVIBVS ESCULENTIS.

VI pavones & aves esculentas ad patinas trahi solent: illi quidem nequaquam tibi dissipere tibi sunt: quam ex his obsonia fiunt cæteris suis: uora: & regum ac principum mensis q̄ habet. milium: & minimi census hominum magis comestentia. Cavent igitur plebei & populares: & quibus (ut ait Satyrus) res legi non sufficiunt tale aliquid deliquant ne diu comedant. Latorum hæc erunt obsonia: & eorum maxime: quos non virtus & industria: sed fortuna atq̄ hominum temeritas ex infima sorte: vitæ e gæneis & stabulis & popina non ad divitias: quod esset ferendum: sed ad summos dignitatis gradus erigere. Hi sunt quorum gratia pavones ac plausivi nati aut capti videntur. His præciosa vestis: præciosa suppellex: & quicquid præclarum sacra opus debet. Capam & aliam mecum deorât Pomponius: Adsit Septimius: & Septimuleius Campanus: Nec extra triclinium pernoctet Cosmicus: Hanc sequatur Parthenius: & Podagrosus Scaurus: Fabius Narniensis: Antonius Rufus: & Moecenatis: non relictisq̄ parvæ spæ plebæ. Et ne tibi succenscat Cincinnatus: hanc quoq̄ Demetrius ad cenam beliciorum vocat: quam loquendum in forum platiq̄que validis indolis

THE FRIENDS OF PLATINA: "Those who first served peacocks and edible birds apparently were well advised because these are foods that are more delicious than any other. . . . But (as Satyrus says) common people and those not wealthy enough to support such tastes should beware of them. For they are the fare of the elegant and particularly of those men whom fortune and audacity, not virtue and labor, have . . . raised to the highest ranks of honor. . . . Pomponius eats onion and garlic with me; as do Septimius and Septimuleius Campanus, and Cosmicus does not let the night pass outside the dining room; Parthenius follows him, and Podagrosus Scaurus, nor do I pass over Fabius Narniensis or Antonius Rufus, or Moecenatis, who embrace poverty willingly. And let not Cincinnatus bear me a grudge, nor Demetrius, for calling him in for a supper of simple greens" (Platina, *De honesta voluptate* . . .).

translated from the preface accompanying the title page illustration adequately represent Platina's advocacy of the Epicurean moderation in the satisfaction of the senses which alone leaves man free.

The title and preface place Platina's work firmly within the context of the contemporary movement of ideas. By its publication Platina announced formally that he had taken the Epicurean side in the great 15th-century literary controversy over whether the summum bonum is to be attained by the path of the Stoics, the Peripatetics, or the Epicureans! To attempt to summarize this debate would be to defy any reasonable meaning of the word *summarize*. Because Pope Paul II said that the Accademia romana "took Valla too seriously," we can note that Laurentius Valla began the debate by arguing in his *De voluptate* (1431) that Stoic *honestas* asks too much of man and gives him too little, fills him with pride but takes away his hope. Nature gives man both the desire for *voluptas* and the means of its satisfaction, and Valla could wish that he had 50 senses rather than only five.

Valla's rehabilitation of Epicurian *voluptas* is reinforced by the publication of the editiones principes of the *De rerum natura* of Lucretius in 1473 and the *Vitae et sententia philosophorum* of Diogenes Laertius in 1472. The first of these was to have 24 continental editions by 1650 and the second, 14. Platina's preface cites both Lucretius and Diogenes Laertius as character witnesses for Epicurus. In addition to influencing Platina to write his book, Lucretius and Diogenes Laertius did the equally important job of preparing an audience to receive it. Erasmus called Epicureans the best Christians; in More's *Utopia* the adjective most frequently preceding *voluptas* is "jocund." Montaigne knew that Vergil was the greatest poet but sometimes in reading Lucretius felt he could not be sure. So he declared Epicurean *voluptas* "great and generous," thought man's condition "wonderfully corporeal," and said, "I love life and cultivate it just as God has been pleased to grant it to me. I do not go about wishing that it should lack the need to eat and drink."

With a public so thoroughly prepared, *De honesta voluptate* was ensured immediate and prolonged popularity. A contemporary joked that Platina had more buyers than Plato, a fact which

PLATINA'S BLANCMANGER: For 20, soak two pounds of almonds in water overnight, chop well, sprinkling them with a little water. In the same mortar chop the breast of a capon, add the soft insides of bread soaked in verjuice [the fermented juice of a sour fruit or vegetable] or in the juice of lean meat. Add an ounce of ginger, half a pound of sugar, and mix. Strain into a clean pot; boil over a slow fire, stirring constantly. Add three ounces of rosewater when it is cooked.

Scappi, private cook to Pope Pius V, says that blanchmanger should be served "when it is what the name says it ought to be, white and shining, and the taste corresponds to the beauty" (Opera, Venetia: M. Tramezzino, 1581?, p. 53).

has characterized cookbook sales since 1475. There were at least 16 Latin editions by 1541, the date of the publication in Basel of the coupling of Apicius and Platina in the same covers that is the first Swiss cookbook. Two of the five Latin editions published in Italy pose minor bibliographical problems that defy resolution. Platina had worked as a corrector for the first Roman printers, Schweynheym and Pannarts, and had given the first edition of *De honesta voluptate* for publication to the great Ulrich Han of Rome. Why then was the edition of June 13, 1475, published by a Venetian printer so obscure that nothing else is known about him? In this case it is the publisher, not the place, that is surprising. Venice is where Thomas Coryat of the *Crudities* first saw the forks he took back to England, and even in Byron's time Venice was "the revel of earth and the masque of Italy." But Cividale, the place of publication of the 1480 Latin edition, has so small a part in the annals of printing that Platina's book is one of only two published there in the 15th century.

The first French edition of Platina, translated by Dedier Christol, prior of the Abbey of St.

TWO SPANISH RECIPES FOR BLANCMANGER FOR LENT: *Ruperto de Nola*, Libro de cocina . . . (Toledo, 1525), Biting Collection.

*Manjar blanco*: Boil lobster or red mullet ("but lobster is much better than mullet"), shred it, leaving only the white meat. Touch with saffron, add a little rosewater. For 8, 4 pounds of finely crushed almonds, 1 pound of flour, 1 pound of rosewater, 2 pounds of sugar. Keep almond milk free of taint from kitchen tools. Add flour slowly, while beating. The second recipe is for blanchmanger of squash or other gourds.

estrasa acrisbus ac siccis ad. el. misceto: iditogz i pa  
stallu ad id apte ex farina subacta factum. In fur-  
no aut sub rextu in foco decoqui possit. Semicoctū  
ubi fuerit duo vitella ouoz: desfracta: modici cro-  
ci ac crete super fundeo.

**P** In pipionem expositum.  
Ipiionem exinanitum t bene locum: per diez  
ac nocte in aceno acri sine: lotum deinde ac  
repletum t aromantibus t herbis: ligu pro libidi-  
ne: aut a sium facit: Ceteroia modo sine osibus in  
uenire.

**P** Ex solo pipione duo funia.  
Ipiionem sine aqua ita appositae deplumato ne  
pellem frangas. Exnerato deinde cutem in  
tegra auerto ac virigo: directis optimo sar-  
cimine replebis. Integer tum omnino videbitur.  
Clerum pipionem hoc modo alsum: frictum: ruz  
facio. Al sum semicoctum sale ac trito pane asper-  
go: coniungesqz luer vitello ouit: crustam pro cu-  
te facit. Tibi moctus omio fuerit pebement igne  
stam torreto quo coloratioz fiat: inde conuiuium  
pones.

**O** Libaria Alba.  
Ibarium album: qd aptu a liscopbagum co-  
currit: hoc modo pro duodecim conuiuiis con-  
dico. Amygdalaz libras .2. nocte aqua ma-  
cerato: ac depilato in mortario bene tudeo: ispar-  
gendo modicum aqueine oleum facit. Deinde cu-  
pi pectus expositum in eodem mortario conterro:  
indelsqz excauatum panem creta prius: aut ure  
macro remolium. Singiberis preterea vniens ac  
saccheri subis addo: miscebisqz hoc omnia simul:  
mixtasqz per exercitium farinacrum in ollani mu-  
da transmittes. Effructet deinde in carbonibz lito

igne facies: coctile ariqz sepe agitatione serie adbe-  
reat. Cocum ubi fuerit aque rosace viciat: tito in  
fundes. Ad mensamqz aut in patinis ubi caro fue-  
rit: aut scrofus: sed munonibus mites. Quod si i ca-  
pos fundere institueris: quo launus videatur: mali  
punici grana superinspargo. Ad vero si in duplice  
conditurā vinum volo: partem vitello oui de ero-  
co simul cum modico acrite obfuso colorabis: quē  
quidē a colore genestimam appello. Reliquam par-  
tem t alba est: ita cōuiui ut dixi apponet. Hoc ego  
condimencia apitania ante posuerim semper. De-  
qz vlla ratio est cur gule maiore nostris preferatur.  
Et si n. ab illis t omnibus fere artibus superamur:  
vna tamen gula non vincitur. Nullū. n. in orbe ter-  
raz irrementum gule est: qd nō huc tāqz ad gym-  
nasium popinarium translaum sicubi acerrime de  
conditura obsoniorum omnium videtur. Quē co-  
quum vii immortales Martino meo comens con-  
terro: quo hec que scribo magna ex parte sunt ba-  
bita. Carneadem alterum videri: si de rebus propo-  
sitis ex tempore discretem audieris.

**A** Libarium album castellanum.  
Armas optimi nisi cum duabus metretis la-  
ctio capmi in cacabo ad ignē posito pcul fā  
magne fumum concipit. Pectus deinde capi eo-  
dem die morit: ac semicoctū in quadaz quasi subti-  
lissima fila tridito: in duazqz in mortarium duobz  
eo amplius tribus iendub pistillo conuoluit. Tibi  
lac vinidum hore effructit: huc idem pectus in  
la redactus cuz libra sacchari indages: feruere qz bo-  
ras quatuor panis agitando semper cōdura co-  
ctile artici berebit: terebitha vlt decoctū fuerit.

## De quaresma.

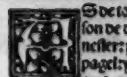
es buenas y cozida con todo su aparo puedes hazer plato  
lla melina sin cotarla si no sus picas enteras: y bayer que cu-  
ega aquella salsa. y quando derriere echarla encima. y el  
si la quieres cotada hazlo de la manera. De la que la melina se  
ra cozida cotarla: y sofrayrta vn poco con aserite: y ecale  
la salsa. y de ella coyer vn buen ralo: y ecale vnas pocas de  
yerbas de boydas: haz escudillas.



## El rto me parece ba

urr hablado de muchas maneras de vi-  
andas: y de las diferencias de ellas. y del  
seruir: t aparcar de todas las maneras  
de guisado: y viandas assi de carnal co-  
mo de quaresma: t avn que algunos vi-  
gan que las viandas quaresmales no son  
tan pautecbosas como las de carnal. Al el dgo que no es  
si no voluntad de personas: porque ay algunos sclores que  
les contentan mas vnas viandas que otras: t ouerlos apo-  
mitos t personas spero como quiera que sea yo e becho todan  
mis fueras poi poner en este presente libro todo lo que yo e  
sabido y alcanzado: t porque algunos ignosn algo quier  
dejar de la langosta: porque el manjar blanco no se puede ha-  
zer sin ella: o sin los pagelos: t si los pagelos no fuerē frescos  
bayerlo de la langosta: que si no la vuisse no se podrie bayer  
el manjar blanco perfecto segun dire en el siguiente capitulo.

## Manjar blanco.



Es de tomar la langosta: t los pagelos. y avn que  
son de diferentes calidades: de necesidad son me-  
nister: pero la langosta el mucho menos que no el  
pagelo: y de los dos tomado el que mejor se pare-  
ce: t coyrlo en vna olla a parte: y de el sea que  
si medio cozida sacala de la olla: o ponla en remojo en agua  
fria: t despu

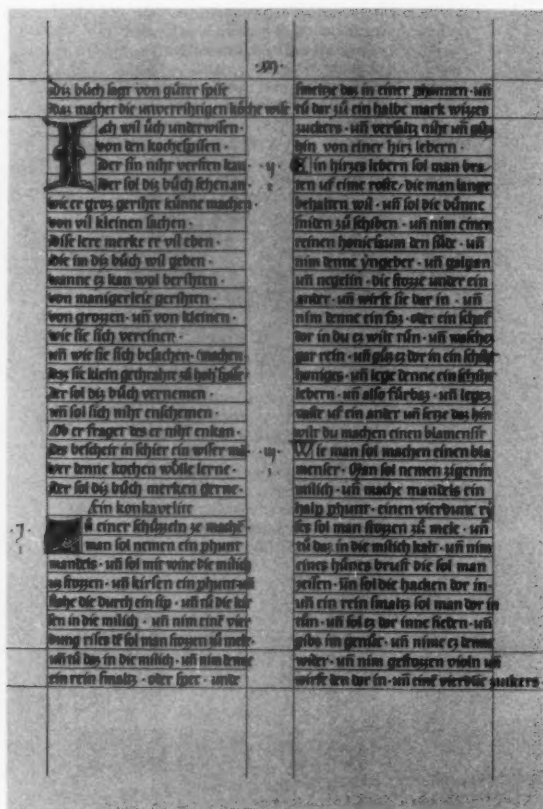
## De quaresma. fo. lxx.

es tomar lo blanco de la langosta que es mejor: t a de coyer  
mas ralo. t ponerlo en vn plato: t desfrarlo assi como be-  
das de acatran: y echar sobre que sea blanco de blado agua ro-  
fada. y despues para ocho escudillas tomar quatro libras de  
almendra. t vna libra de barina. t vna libra de agua rosada.  
y despues tomar dos libras de aguar fino: t tomar las alm-  
dras blancas: t majarlas en vn mortero: de manera que no  
se bagan aserite: para escudar esto mojar la mano del monte-  
ro a menudo en agua rosada. t desque sean majadas ocstar  
las con agua tibia que sea limpia. t desque sean passadas to-  
mar vn capo muy liyo que no sea estafado de nueuo: ni que  
sea tampoco de coyte. t toma lo de blado de la langosta. t va-  
ya dentro en la olla con aquella agua rosada. t despues echar  
le la leche que beyle. t no toda sino aquella que conozeras  
que abastara para el principio: t antes pon la leche en dos ve-  
ges que en vna. t si la echaless toda junta no lo podrias bien  
conocer basta que el manjar blanco se tome: si eprorde ma-  
niera que pomas la barina poco a poco: porque no se empla-  
stre. y bairlo / o traerlo siempoco con vn palo hasta que sea co-  
zido. t despues bayer escudillas. t sobre ellas echar aguar si  
no. y de la manera se bayer plecto el manjar blanco de pescado.

## Manjar blanco de calabazas.



Es de tomar las calabazas mas firmas: y pararlas  
bien raydas con vn cucubillo hasta que quede blā-  
cas. t despues cotarlas a pedacos tan grandes  
como la mano: y pon agua al fuego. y quando ber-  
uere echarle las calabazas. t desque sean cozidas  
sacarlas. t ponerlas de tro de vn trapo limpio. t despues boy  
leche de almendra segun la cantidad de las calabazas. y el  
pimrit las muy bien de manera que salga toda la agua. y des-  
pues ponla en la olla o capo donde as de bayer el manjar blā-  
co.



A GERMAN RECIPE, CA. 1350, FOR BLANCMANGER: Take goat's milk, half a pound of crushed almonds, a quarter pound of rice ground to flour and mixed with the milk; bone a chicken breast, chop small, and add pure dripping; let it cook long enough and serve with cut violets and a quarter pound of sugar. Note that the dish is "blamensisir" and that the binder is rice, both obviously non-German importations (Das Buch von guter Spise, xiiij. Jahrhundert Witzenberg, xx. Jahrhundert Darmstadt, Facsimile, Darmstadt: A. Kupfer, 1964).

Chaucer's *blancmanger* is described in *The Forme of Cury*, ed. Samuel Pegge (London: J. Nichols, 1780), written by the unnamed cook for Chaucer's royal master, Richard II. The recipe calls for ground almonds simmered in wine, beef, or chicken broth (on fast days, a fish broth), strained, mixed with chopped up capon or chicken, seasoned with almond milk, strewn with fried almonds and a little sugar, with rice flour as the binder. The recipe used by his French contemporary Taillevent specifies the less effective breadcrumbs as binder.

Maurice near Montpellier and published in Lyons in 1505, has been called the most beautiful cookbook ever published for its Gothic type and initial woodcut letters. The existence of this translation is emphasized to deflate somewhat the exaggerated accounts of the culture shock suffered by the French kitchen in 1533 when Catherine de Médicis brought Florentine cooks with her to Paris on her marriage. Actually French cuisine had a cookbook author very much the peer of Maestro Martino in Guillaume Le Tirel, called Taillevent, "maître queux" to Charles VI. In manuscript before 1392, published about 1490, Taillevent's *Viandier* was so well known that François Villon says in *Le Grand Testament* of 1461: "Si allé veoir en Taillevent/Au chapitre de fricassure." What the Italians brought new with them was the esthetics of the table called gastronomy. That is the import of the conversation Montaigne had with the steward of the kitchen of Cardinal Caraffa: "He explained to me the difference of appetites; that which a man has before he begins to eat, and those after the second and third service, how meely to gratify it, and how to satisfy first and then to raise and sharpen it; the management of the sauces . . . the differences of sallads . . . the manner of their garnishment and decoration, to render them also pleasing to the eye . . ."

The translators of the first two Italian editions of Platina (1487 and 1494) apparently were unaware that they were doing a back translation of a Latin translation of an Italian original. Because there is no Latin for macaroni, Platina had used the circumlocution *esicium frumentinum* for what Martino had called *maccaroni Siciliani*. The translators, although they may have dined that day on that dish, did not recognize the Latin and could think only to translate it as *exitio frumentino*. In the same way Martino's good Italian *biancomangiare*, which is *cibarium album* in Platina's Latin, becomes Greek *leucofago* in the Italian translations. This is additional proof, if proof is needed, of the truth of the Italian proverb "traduttore traditore," a translator betrays the meaning.

The same dishes can be used to illustrate the pitfalls awaiting the unwary annotator of Platina. In the 15th century *maccaroni Siciliani* may have meant *gnocchi*, and it certainly did not mean the pasta which in the early 18th century conquered

Naples and then the world. In the same way *biancomangiare* must not be understood as *blancmanger* if by that word is meant today's cornstarch pudding. Platina gives two recipes for this shimmering white fish or fowl mousse with almonds, the second of which, *blancmanger Catalan*, poses a pretty little historical problem. The word is certainly either French or Italian, but is the dish itself Spanish, as its greatest appreciator certainly was? In the account of the adventures of that ingenious gentleman Don Quixote de la Mancha, one reads: "We have received word here, my good Sancho, that you are very fond of manjar blanco and forced-meat balls, so fond, indeed, that if there is any left over you put it away in your bosom for another day." Sancho's denial goes on to become his profession of faith as a trencherman: "No, sir, that is not so. . . . The truth of the matter is that if they happen to give me a heifer I run with the halter, by which I mean to say, I eat what is set before me and take things as they come." Another great testimony to *blancmanger* comes from England. When Chaucer wishes to give the ultimate praise to Roger of Ware, the cook who took the road to Canterbury with that goodly company of pilgrims, he says: "For blankmanger, that made he with the beste."

Platina's name and his title occasionally take on a life of their own. The name is used as a flag under which to sail quite a different ship in Heinrich Steiner's publication *Von allen Speysen und Gerichten* (Augsburg, 1530), the authorship of which is indicated as "durch den hochgelerten und erfarnen Platinam/Pabsts Pij des. 2 Hofmeister." Not only was the "highly learned and experienced" Platina never Pius II's chamberlain, but the text is not his, being quickly recognizable as that of the standard German Renaissance cookbook, the *Küchenmeisterei*. Steiner made amends by publishing in 1542 a genuine translation of *De honesta voluptate*, giving the author as "the highly learned philosopher and orator, the very wise and eloquent Bar. Platina of Cremona." The Lyons printer Benoist Rigaud used not Platina's name but his title. Rigaud's *Livre de honnest volupité* (1588) is a revision of his *Livre fort excellent* (1555), which has nothing to do with Platina. Rigaud published a legitimate translation of Platina in 1571. The importance of Lyons in the dissemination of Platina in France should not be surprising. Gourmets



Gerardus Vorselman, Hier begint eenen nyeuwen coock boeck (Thantwerpen: Gheprint by dye weduwe van H. Peetersen, 1560), Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection.

This realistic illustration has its own history which partly parallels the popularization of Platina in the Germans. The artist is Hans Weiditz, called the "Petrarca-Meister" for his work in the 1532 *Von der Arzney bayder Glück* translation of Petrarch's *De Remediis*. The illustration appeared first in the Strassburg 1530 publication by Egenolphen called *Von allen Speisen* . . . , which uses Platina's name but not his text, and later in the same year in a reedition of that work from the press of Heinrich Steiner of Augsburg. In 1531 Egenolphen used the illustration again for a second, quite different cookbook whose title page lists Platina as one of its sources. Steiner's 1531, 1533, 1536, and 1537 reprints of the 1530 *Von allen Speisen*, wrongly attributed to Platina, carry the illustration. When in 1542 Steiner printed the true Platina, he used the same illustration. How the plate came to the Widow Hendrik van Peetersen in Antwerp in 1560 for use in the Vorselman book is an unresolved problem.

who, like the Wise Men, follow the stars of the *Guide Michelin* ratings know that Lyons has always been Paris' peer in culinary culture.

Curiously, the illustration used in Steiner's pseudo-Platina of 1530 reappears on the title page of the first Belgian cookbook, Gerardus Vorselman's *Eenen nyeuwen coock boeck* (Antwerp, 1560), which the author describes as having been derived from many and varied sources, including the "Ytaliaens." From Platina, Vorselman took 133 recipes, labeling 82 as "Romeyns" and leaving the others unacknowledged. The first cookbook printed in Italian, the *Epulario*, which is attributed, oddly enough, to a Frenchman, Rosselli, is Platina with a few additions. One of the additions is a recipe for birds baked alive in a pie and so disposed that when the crust was broken the birds flew out, certainly a dainty dish to set before a king. The "De voluptibus" of Platina which Clara in Delicado's *Lozana andalusia* boasts she far surpasses is a "bibliographic ghost" to be found only in this contemporary story of a Spanish bawd in the Rome of 1524. The first Spanish cookbook, which appeared first in Catalan in 1520 and was translated into Castilian in 1525 as *Libro de cozina*, is attributed to one Ruperto de Nola. This man is described as the cook to one of the Aragonese kings of Naples, so that his work too is permeated with the Italian culinary culture represented by Platina.

The reader of *De honesta voluptate* is looking into the cocoon in which the modern cookbook is struggling to be born. The talk of medicine, gardening, and housekeeping, the vestigial elements that will be sloughed off in the evolutionary process, occurs in the first books. The second part—Maestro Martino's part—is more nearly a cookbook in the modern sense. The "modern" sense is, of course, the sense of the recipes in sequence of the Apician manuscripts of the fourth and ninth centuries and of the possibly fictitious cookbook running from onions to tunny described in a fragment of a lost Greek play, the *Phaon* of about 400 B.C.

While Martino works in the Roman or Apician tradition, it is because he is giving the same response to the same conditions, and there is no need to suppose that he read Apicius. But Platina did know Apicius and mentions him to assert that modern sauces were better than those of Rome. Professor Milham has definitely linked

three of the extant Apician manuscripts with members of the Accademia romana.<sup>10</sup> Their interest was certainly more philological than culinary. But Platina, with his feeling for food and his knowledge and appreciation of its possibilities, would have gone on from Apicius' Latin to his recipes. Not Apicius alone, but the talk about Apician recipes with his friends at the academy dinners, held perhaps in imitation of the ritual meal of the Epicurean college to give the body its share of the pleasure enjoyed by the spirit, would have stimulated Platina to the writing of *De honesta voluptate*.

These notes have examined *De honesta voluptate* chiefly from the outside to place it in relation to its author and to the intellectual currents of his time. In picking out this pattern we have incidentally also pulled out plums like Sancho Panza's blancmanger and Leonardo da Vinci's vegetable recipes. After a neoclassical invocation of the patron of all plum-pullers ("Forth from thy corner John Horner come!"), we have thought to conclude with plums of a different kind. There is first Platina's metaphor in comparing the blushing of Thisbe, the Egyptian girl, to the ripening of the mulberry from white to dark red. His personality is illuminated for us and the austere humanist humanized by his wish that men not eat cardinals, because one summer day at the Gonzaga villa he watched one of these birds with pleasure and admiration.

Most pleasing are the glimpses of his friends. Caeculus makes Platina laugh when he fries eggs because he gets so absorbed in the process that he himself seems to stick to the pan. Pomponius Leto should not roast eggs on live coals: he is so absent-minded that he loses two before he gets one and so poor that usually he finishes with none. Platina remembers this cinnamon sauce from the table of Filefulus; Bucinus likes this roast chicken recipe because he likes the sweet-and-sour effect; capon or pullet Catalan, according to this recipe, is as good as the best ever served by Valsichara. There can be nothing in the world more flavorful than the marzipan Platina went to eat with his friend Patritus at Senes, where it is a specialty. To use a handy phrase: Platina's medium is the recipe, and his message is Epicurus' "pleasure is not exclusive; it is not pleasure, not human pleasure, unless it is shared with a friend."

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> José Ruyschaert, "Sixte IV, Fondateur de la Bibliothèque Vaticane (15 Juin 1475)," *Archivium historiae pontificiae* 7 (1969): 511-23.

<sup>2</sup> Alfred E. Housman, *The Name and Nature of Poetry* (New York: Macmillan; Cambridge: At the University Press, 1933), p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> Joseph Vehling, *Platina and the Rebirth of Man* (Chicago: W. M. Hill, 1941).

<sup>4</sup> Emilio Faccioli, *Arte della cucina; libri di ricette, testi sopra lo scalco, il trinciante e i vini dal XIV al XIX secolo . . .*, vol. 1 (Milano: Edizioni Il Polifilo, 1966), pp. 119-204.

<sup>5</sup> Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes, From the Close of the Middle Ages . . .*, vol. 4, ed. F. L. Antrobus (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1898).

<sup>6</sup> See Benjamin Farrington, "The Meaning of *Voluptas* in Lucretius," *Hermathena* 80 (November 1952): 26-31, and *Faith of Epicurus* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1967).

<sup>7</sup> T. S. Eliot, "Baudelaire in Our Time," in *Essays Ancient and Modern* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1936), pp. 69-70.

<sup>8</sup> Edith Wharton, *French Ways and Their Meaning* (New York, London: D. Appleton and Co., 1919), p. 133.

<sup>9</sup> Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Le Vite* (Florence: Nelle Sede dell'Istituto nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, 1970).

<sup>10</sup> Mary Ella Milham, "Toward a Stemma and 'Fortuna' of Apicius," *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 10 (1967): 259-320.

The standard bibliographies in this area include Georges Vicaire's *Bibliographie gastronomique* (Paris: P. Rouquette et fils, 1890) and Richard Westbury's *Handlist of Italian Cookery Books* (Firenze: L. S. Olschki, 1963), in addition to the work by Mrs. Bitting cited in the text. Harry Schraemli's *Von Lucullus zu Escoffier* (Zürich: Interlag AG, 1949) and Elly Cockx-Indestege's introduction to Gerardus Vorselman's *Eenen Nyeuwen Cooch Boeck* (Weisbaden: Guido Pressler, 1971) have also been consulted. Platina's *De honesta voluptate* appears in an English translation by E. B. Andrews as *De honesta voluptate; the First Dated Cookery Book . . .* (St. Louis[?]: Mallinckrodt Chemical Works, 1967). The quotation from Don Quixote is from Samuel Putnam's translation, *The Ingenious Gentleman Don Quixote de la Mancha* (New York: Modern Library, 1964); Montaigne is quoted from the *Essays of Michael Seigneur de Montaigne*, 7th London edition (London: Printed for S. and E. Ballard, 1739).

## Some Recent Publications of the Library of Congress<sup>1</sup>

*Children's Books 1974; a List of Books for Preschool Through Junior High School Age.* 1975. 16 p. 40 cents. An annotated guide to almost 200 books published in the past year, selected by Virginia Haviland, head of the Children's Book Section, Library of Congress, and Lois B. Watt, retired chief of the Information and Materials Center, Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, with the assistance of a committee of children's and school librarians from Virginia, Maryland, and the District of Columbia.

*The Geography and Map Division; a Guide to its Collections and Services.* 1975. Revised edition. 42 p. \$1.15. Description of the Library's extensive collections of maps and charts, globes, and atlases dating from the 15th century. The collections are particularly strong in Americana. Liberally illustrated.

*Hans P. Kraus Collection of Hispanic American Manuscripts; a Guide,* by J. Benedict Warren. 1974. 187 p. \$17.50. The Kraus collection comprises manuscripts relating to colonial Spanish America, especially colonial Mexico. This descriptive guide to the collection lists the manuscripts and includes a bibliography, chronological index, and name and place index. For

sale by the Information Office, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540, or in person from the Information Counter in the Main Building of the Library.

*Robert Frost: Lectures on the Centennial of his Birth.* 1975. 74 p. \$1.55. Lectures on Frost delivered by Helen Bacon, Peter Davison, Robert Pack, and Allen Tate at a commemorative symposium held at the Library, March 26, 1974, under the auspices of the Gertrude Clarke Whittall Poetry and Literature Fund.

*Ward Maps of United States Cities; a Selective Checklist of Pre-1900 Maps in the Library of Congress,* compiled by Michael H. Shelley. 1975. 24 p. 95 cents. List of representative ward maps published between 1790 and 1899, including for each of 35 American cities at least one map per decade, when available, as well as maps reflecting ward changes.

<sup>1</sup> For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, unless otherwise noted. All orders must be prepaid. Checks for items ordered from the LC Information Office should be made payable to the Library of Congress. Remittance to the Superintendent of Documents may be made by coupon, money order, express order, check, or charge against a deposit account.

## Publications for the Bicentennial of the American Revolution<sup>1</sup>

*The American Revolution: A Selected Reading List.* 1968. 38 p. 80 cents. Presents numerous approaches to the Revolution, ranging from eyewitness accounts by the men and women involved in the struggle for independence to recent scholarly evaluations.

*The Boston Massacre, 1770, engraved by Paul Revere.* Library of Congress Facsimile No. 4. \$2. A full-color facsimile of the famous engraving is presented in a red folder which forms a mat for the print. A description of the events leading to the massacre and to the production of the engraving appears on the folder. Produced through the Verner W. Clapp Publication Fund. For sale by the Information Office, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540.

*Creating Independence, 1763-1789; Background Reading for Young People.* 1972. 62 p. \$1.15. An annotated list of books on the Revolution, including general histories, biographies, and novels. Introduction by Richard B. Morris. Illustrations from contemporary sources.

*English Defenders of American Freedoms, 1774-1778.* 1972. 231 p. \$4.75. Six pamphlets attacking British policy after the North Ministry turned to coercion, written by Jonathan Shipley, Bishop of St. Asaph; John Cartwright; Matthew Robinson-Morris, Baron Rokeby; Catherine Macaulay; and Willoughby Bertie, Earl of Abingdon.

*Manuscript Sources in the Library of Congress for Research on the American Revolution.* 1975. 371 p. \$8.70. A guide to documents, including reproductions, in the Library pertaining to the period between 1763 and 1789. It is divided into domestic collections and foreign reproductions. For each collection a description of the materials and information about the principal figures are given.

*Periodical Literature on the American Revolution: Historical Research and Changing Interpretations, 1895-1970.* 1971. 93 p. \$1.30. A guide to essays and periodical literature on the Revolutionary era, listing more than 1,100 studies that have appeared in the last 75 years; includes subject and author indexes.

*To Set a Country Free.* 1975. 75 p. \$4.50. An account derived from an exhibition in the Library of Congress, commemorating the 200th anniversary of American independence and the 175th anniversary of the establishment of the Library. The essay on the events preceding and during the Revolution is richly illustrated with more than 100 reproductions, eight in full color, of manuscripts, maps, prints, and rare books, the great majority of which are in the Library's collections. Produced through the Verner W. Clapp Publication Fund. For sale by the Information Office, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540.

*Twelve Flags of the American Revolution.* 1974. 13 p. \$1.25. This catalog to accompany a Bicentennial exhibition depicts the flags in both black and white and color and gives notes on their origins and symbolism. Produced through the Verner W. Clapp Publication Fund. For sale by the Information Office, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540.

*Two Rebuses from the American Revolution.* Library of Congress Facsimiles No. 5-1 and 5-2. \$2.50. Two facsimiles, each approximately 10x14 inches and suitable for framing, of rebuses published by Matthew Darly, a London caricaturist, in 1778 as satiric comments on England's attempt to negotiate peace that year with the colonists. Translations of the rebuses and

<sup>1</sup> Publications are for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, unless otherwise noted. All orders must be prepaid. Remittance to the Superintendent of Documents may be made by coupon, money order, express order, check, or charge against a deposit account. Increases in costs make it necessary for the Superintendent of Documents to increase the selling prices of many publications offered. As it is not feasible for the Superintendent of Documents to correct the prices manually in all publications stocked, the prices charged on your order may differ from the prices printed in the publications.

Checks for items ordered from the LC Information Office should be made payable to the Library of Congress.

a note on the historical background are included on the folder. Produced through the Verner W. Clapp Publication Fund. For sale by the Information Office, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS SYMPOSIA  
ON THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Symposia and publications made possible through a grant from the Morris and Gwendolyn Cafritz Foundation. For sale by the Information Office, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540.

*The Development of a Revolutionary Mentality.* 1972. 158 p. \$3.50. Papers and commentaries presented at the first Library of Congress symposium on the American Revolution, held May 5 and 6, 1972. The participants are Richard B. Morris, Henry S. Com-

mager, Caroline Robbins, J. H. Plumb, Richard Bushman, Edmund S. Morgan, Pauline Maier, Jack P. Greene, Mary Beth Norton, and Esmond Wright.

*Fundamental Testaments of the American Revolution.* 1973. 120 p. \$3.50. Papers presented on May 10 and 11, 1973, at the second of five symposia. Introduction by Julian P. Boyd. Papers by Bernard Bailyn, Cecelia M. Kenyon, Merrill Jensen, Richard B. Morris, and James Russell Wiggins.

*Leadership in the American Revolution.* 1974. 135 p. \$4.50. Papers delivered at the third Library of Congress symposium on the American Revolution, May 9 and 10, 1974. Opening remarks by L. H. Butterfield and papers by Alfred H. Kelly, Marcus Cunliffe, Gordon S. Wood, Don Higginbotham, and Bruce Mazlish.





Camera propinqua alla Cucina

Conserua

mozzo

si passa gielo

murello

amorano de  
Talia

Candelier

passano saporì

penelo p indorar pastici

A MASTRAY  
L'UNICO

